

Obama's War? / How to Pick a Pope / The Puzzle Masters

# TIME

MAN

# SUPERMAN

# GUNMAN



Oscar Pistorius and South Africa's Culture of Violence By Alex Perry

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Photograph by  
Pietr Hugo—*The New York Times Syndicate*



Oscar Pistorius, a symbol of South African hope and dissolution, awaits court proceedings in Pretoria on Feb. 19. Photograph by Siphwe Sibeko—Reuters

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Tom Stoppard



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# Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail

Fareed Zakaria  
on Obama's  
pre-K plan

Out-of-control  
medical costs

## Everything Old Is New Again



**TIME TURNS 90 THIS WEEK.** When we started talking about this around the office, a couple of people said to me, Let's not make too much of it, because it only shows how old we are. I've never liked birthdays, so I wasn't completely unsympathetic. But I noticed that enthusiasm for celebrating our anniversary was inversely proportional to age: the younger the staffers, the more enthusiastic they were; the older, the less. For me, 90 is not so much a milestone but evidence that for nine decades TIME is always new, always of the moment. We have to be because we cover the way the world is changing and that never stops.

So we are celebrating in ways that are of the moment and on all our many platforms—curated by TIME.com assistant managing editor Steve Snyder. At TIME.com/90years, you can watch a two-minute video history of the TIME cover. We also showcase the history of the past nine decades through a discussion of 90 memorable TIME covers. Plus, you'll get a tour of the past 50 years of show business, with more than 100 covers of actors, directors and celebrities. We have a gallery of covers by great artists, from Roy Lichtenstein's portrait of Bobby Kennedy to Jacob Lawrence's Jesse Jackson to Andy Warhol's Michael Jackson. Going from the sublime to the ridiculous: readers will be able to vote on the cheesiest covers we've ever done, and we've selected 50 of those. (CATS: LOVE 'EM! HATE 'EM! is my favorite.)

Also, in October we will publish a book, *Inside the Red Border*, a chronicle of history told through the TIME cover, the most important real estate in journalism. And in a few weeks, you'll be able to go inside the Time & Life Building via the magic of Google Street View and take a tour of our offices. Finally, don't miss Joel Stein's column in this issue, which generally makes fun of the whole thing.

*Rick*

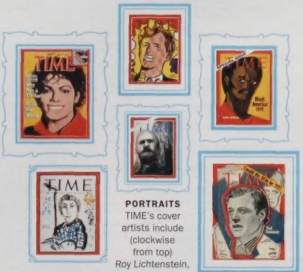
Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

## 90 YEARS INSIDE THE RED BORDER

From Watergate to Facebook, TIME's covers have captured the spirit of the times



**STARS** Icons on the cover include the Marx Brothers, Louis Armstrong, Marilyn Monroe, Madonna, Tom Hanks, George Clooney, Toni Morrison and Bart Simpson

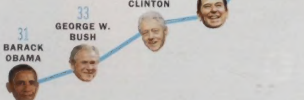


### PORTRAITS

TIME's cover artists include (clockwise from top) Roy Lichtenstein, Jacob Lawrence, Larry Rivers, Marc Chagall, Andy Warhol and Ben Shahn

### MOST APPEARANCES

Our final Nixon cover story, marking his death in 1994, chronicled the disgraced President's life and legacy



1,295

**BIGGEST GROUP** For TIME's May 31, 2010, cover on Facebook and privacy, we created a mosaic of user profiles



1,788

### MUSEUM WORKS

Much of the original artwork used for TIME's covers is housed in the National Portrait Gallery in Washington

### HERBERT HOOVER

He is the only U.S. President who never made the cover of TIME as a sitting President—although he was on the cover four times while out of office





# Fill in the blanks about your COPD

Discuss this with your doctor. The more you tell your doctor about your COPD, the more he or she can help. Chronic Obstructive Pulmonary Disease includes chronic bronchitis and emphysema.

Since your last doctor's visit, have you... (check all that apply)

- ☐ had an increase in coughing?
- ☐ had an increase in mucus/phlegm or noticed a change in its color?
- ☐ had shortness of breath or difficulty breathing?
- ☐ had a flare-up or worsening of the COPD symptoms listed above, more than typical day-to-day variations?
- ☐ used an antibiotic or oral steroid (such as prednisone)? (# of times: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ had a severe cold or flu?
- ☐ visited an ER, hospital, or urgent care?  
(specify reason: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ discussed your breathing problems with another doctor?
- ☐ used a fast-acting/rescue inhaler more than usual?  
(# times/week: \_\_\_\_\_)
- ☐ missed activities or limited them due to breathing difficulties?  
(specify activities: \_\_\_\_\_)

List all COPD medications you are taking:

---

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- ☐ I'm interested in finding out what more I can do for my COPD.



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Learn more about COPD at [copd.com](http://copd.com)



## #BitterPill

TIME's special report on health care costs opens a crucial national debate

WITHIN HOURS OF ITS ONLINE DEBUT, "BITTER PILL: Why Medical Bills Are Killing Us," written by veteran journalist **Steven Brill**, dominated the national discussion about health care. In the first two days alone, the story drew 1.2 million visits to TIME.com, and readers shared it more than 167,000 times across social networks including Twitter, Facebook and Google+.

In online comments and personal e-mails to Brill, readers shared health care nightmares similar to those detailed in the story, in which ordinary Americans describe their struggles with confusing bills and crushing debt. Brill calls the reaction to the story unprecedented, leaving him with the feeling that he "just scratched the surface." A retired attorney even offered Brill his services in investigating the issue further. One commenter on TIME.com expressed aggravation after receiving a \$10,000 bill for a visit to the emergency room: "Why does having the best medical care in the world matter when you can't afford to use it?"

"Bitter Pill" also unmasked a shadowy enemy in the health care wars—the **chargemaster**, the arcane and much reviled

price list used by every hospital to determine patients' bills. On Twitter, @robin\_h\_p likened the chargemaster to "the villain in TRON," while reader Lorelle Silverman added it to a long list of bad guys: "Charles Ponzi, Kenneth Lay, Bernie Madoff... Chargemaster." The length of the story—more than 24,000 words—did not deter readers like @Karoli, who called it "the #LongRead you really must read." Those joining the #BitterPill discussion on Twitter ranged from influential journalists like the New York Times' **Nicholas Kristof**, who called the story "superb," to readers who observed that our medical system "creates customers not cures."

On television, the story pushed health care policy back into the spotlight. **Charlie Rose** wove Brill's idea of lowering the Medicare age into a discussion about Obamacare and drug companies. **Jon Stewart** (above with Brill) called the piece "required reading" for U.S. citizens and lawmakers, adding that he hoped its publication was a "Silent Spring moment for health care."

FOR MORE  
ON THIS STORY,  
GO TO  
[time.com/bitterpill](http://time.com/bitterpill)

## The Next Pelé Brazil's Neymar

Bobby Ghosh's TIME International cover story on the soccer star showed how Brazil's thriving economy explains the career of its most valuable sporting asset. Unlike previous generations of players, Neymar doesn't need to move to Europe to make a fortune; he's one of the world's best-paid players without leaving his hometown of Santos. Neymar tweeted, "Very proud to be the eighth Brazilian to be on the cover of TIME."

### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

► In "Bitter Pill" by Steven Brill (March 4), we miscalculated the percentage of overall revenue that, according to advertisements by the American Hospital Association, hospitals provided in uncompensated care to the poor in 2010 either through programs providing financial aid to the poor or because patients did not pay their debts. The value of this care is calculated based on cost, not charges, and it is approximately 5% of U.S. hospitals' annual revenue, not "less than half of 1%." In the same piece, we compared the salary of Ronald DePinto, president of the University of Texas, MD Anderson Cancer Center, with that of the head of the University of Texas system but misidentified that of fiscal. We should have said that DePinto earns nearly 25 times the \$750,000 paid to Francisco Cigarroa, the chancellor of the entire University of Texas system.

► In "Upward Mobility" by Fareed Zakaria (March 4), we referred to a paper by scholars from the University of Chicago and University of California, Davis, as being published in September 2011. While it was released as a working paper in 2011, the version of the paper mentioned in the column was presented in June 2012.

## Write to Us

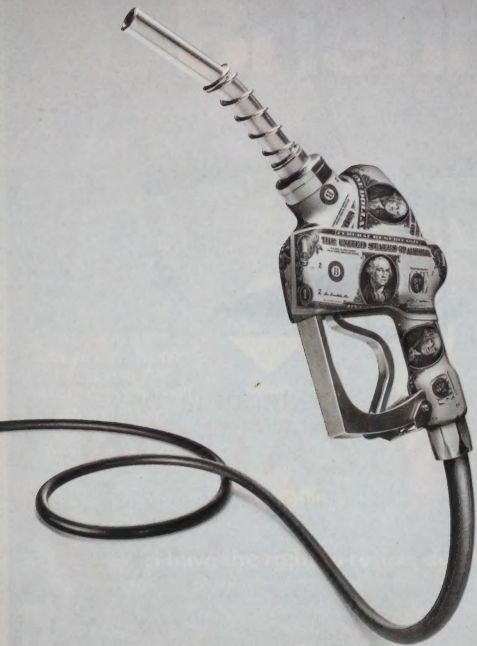
Send an e-mail: [letters@time.com](mailto:letters@time.com). Please do not send attachments

Send a letter: TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, New York, NY 10020. Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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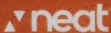
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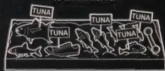
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# Briefing

59%

Percentage of "tuna" sold at U.S. grocery stores and restaurants that is mislabeled



**'WE SHOULD NOT HAVE TO MOVE A THIRD BILL BEFORE THE SENATE GETS OFF THEIR ASS AND BEGINS TO DO SOMETHING.'**

**JOHN BOEHNER**, Speaker of the House, which last year passed two bills (largely ignored by the Senate) to replace the \$85 billion in sequester cuts set to start March 1

**NHL**

Reported league realignment is getting (mostly) good buzz

**GOOD WEEK**

**BAD WEEK**

**NASCAR**

Tried and failed to suppress a video of fans getting hit by crash debris



**'In America, you have a right to be stupid.'**



**JOHN KERRY**, Secretary of State, defending freedom of speech, religion and thought, to a group of students in Germany

**'I have the right to retire, don't you think?'**

**RAUL CASTRO**, 82-year-old Cuban President, days before announcing that he will step down after his current five-year term ends in 2018

**'We need to be one Yahoo, and that starts with physically being together.'**

**AN E-MAIL MEMO**, sent to Yahoo employees, that bans working from home; the move by CEO Marissa Mayer (left), who's a working mother, has generated a considerable backlash



**40.3 MILLION**

People who watched the Oscars, up 3% from last year



**9.5 lb.**

Weight (4.3 kg) of a smart-phone-satellite hybrid sent into space by the University of Surrey, in order to test how well standard commercial components fare beyond earth

**'Maybe I'll run into the Gangnam Style dude while I'm here.'**

**DENNIS RODMAN**, former NBA star, tweeting during a trip to North Korea about South Korean rap star Psy



Briefing

# LightBox

## Candles in the Wind

Buddhist monks in a temple north of Bangkok mark Makha Bucha on Feb. 25. The holiday, which commemorates the life and teachings of the Buddha, falls on the full-moon day of the third lunar month.

Photograph by Kerek Wongsa—Reuters

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK,  
GO TO [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)





# World



## A Bitter Farewell

**WEST BANK** A woman carries a portrait of Arafat Jaradat as she and thousands of others mourn during his funeral procession in Saair on Feb. 25. Jaradat, a 30-year-old Palestinian, died Feb. 23 under disputed circumstances while he was in Israeli custody for a stone-throwing incident. His death sparked renewed clashes around the West Bank and ratcheted up regional speculation about a third intifadeh.



## Four Biggest Challenges Facing South Korea's First Female President

Park Geun-hye, of the conservative Saenuri Party, took office Feb. 25 at a crucial time in her country's history

### 1. DEPRESSED ECONOMY

To spur growth, Park plans to invest in science and information technology and rein in regulations that favor the big manufacturing powerhouses, or chaebol, so that small businesses can prosper too.

### 2. NUCLEAR NORTH KOREA

Park has demanded that Pyongyang abandon its nuclear ambitions "without delay" and vowed zero tolerance of provocation—although she hints she may ease animosity toward Kim Jong Un's regime if he agrees to make concessions.



### 3. STRUGGLING YOUTH

Park hasn't explicitly said how she'd curb young-adult unemployment, now at a troubling 7.5%, but she vows to boost welfare programs and create jobs to help bridge the income and gender gaps.

### 4. SINS OF HER FATHER

**Park Chung-hee**, who was President from 1963 to 1979, helped grow and modernize South Korea's economy, but his reign was fraught with corruption and rights abuses. His daughter promises similar economic progress, with none of the authoritarian baggage.



SOURCE: STATISTICS KOREA

## Explainer How Congo Plans to Make Peace

African leaders have signed yet another U.N.-backed deal to stabilize the Democratic Republic of Congo, where civil wars have killed more than 5 million people since 1998. Here's their plan to make it stick.

### FUNDING

Once the Security Council approves the framework, it'll give more resources to MONUSCO, the U.N. organization tasked with making Congo safer.

### MEDIATION

U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon will appoint an envoy who is expected to hear demands from both Congo's government and the M23 rebels to try to prevent violence.

### TROOPS

Other African nations will send soldiers to aid the government and help protect the resource-rich areas from armed groups.

### FLEXIBILITY

Ban has asked all signatories of the deal to meet at least twice a year to update the plan, depending on progress (or lack thereof).



# Italy's Elections: Split Vote Yields Political Mess

BY STEPHAN FARIS

What Italy needed was stability. What it got was anything but. After a lackluster campaign, the front running center-left candidate, Pier Luigi Bersani, fell short of being able to form a government, leaving the third largest economy in the crisis-hit euro zone drifting toward choppy waters.

After more than 10 hours of counting on Feb. 25, Bersani's coalition seemed to have secured a narrow margin in the national vote for the lower house of Parliament, with 29.5%, compared with 29.2% for his nearest challenger, former Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi and his allies. But while the result was enough to claim a majority in the lower house, Bersani fell short in the Senate of the absolute majority he needed to secure a complete victory, leaving the next government in doubt.

Beyond Italy itself, the biggest loser of the night was Mario Monti, the former E.U. commissioner who was appointed Prime Minister in November 2011, with whom Bersani had hoped to form an alliance. Monti ended the night with 10.6% of the vote, enough to win his coalition just a handful of seats in Parliament. The winner, on the other hand, was the Five Star Movement, a group of political novices—led by the comedian Beppe Grillo—campaigning on a platform of repealing austerity; it

secured 25.6% of the vote. The movement finished the night as the largest single party in the country. Should it manage to hold together, it has the potential to be a major player in Italian politics.

But the way forward is unclear. Bersani's allies and deputies have dismissed the possibility of new elections and what Italians call a grand coalition, a merger of rivals similar to the one that supported Monti. The outcome matters: Italy remains one of the most heavily indebted countries in Europe. "I'm afraid to see the market reaction," says Roberto D'Alimonte, a professor of political science at Rome's LUISS. Italian instability threatens to spread once again.

*Faris is a TIME correspondent based in Rome. For more coverage of Italy, visit world.time.com*



Beppe Grillo, veteran comedian and leader of the Five Star Movement

## INDIA

'Maybe my parents liked the name. But I am not a dictator.'

ADOLF LU HITLER-MARK, a 30-year-old father of three, who is finishing his undergraduate in the tiny northeastern state of Nagaland (India), has a different take on the name. He says he doesn't want to be a dictator, but he does want to be a leader.

\$2.5  
MILLION



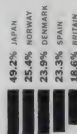
## EGYPT

Amount the government spent on an emergency order of 140,000 U.S. tear-gas canisters in January, despite its long-standing financial troubles

## POLL

IS CLIMATE CHANGE YOUR NO. 1 ENVIRONMENTAL CONCERN?

The University of Chicago asked people in 33 countries. Here's how many said yes.



SOURCE: ADOPTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## Trending In



## HEALTH

A study found that the olive-oil-rich Mediterranean diet (popular in Spain and Greece) lowers risk of heart disease



## MOVIES

Stephen Chow's fantastical journey to the West: Conquering the Demons is breaking box office records in China



## FASHION

Proposed Turkish Airlines uniforms featuring a sex were criticized as too conservative



## SCANDAL

Top U.K. cardinal Keith O'Brien resigned amid claims he tried to seduce male priests





**How long will it take**

The first Pope, St. Peter, was chosen by Jesus, but the fisherman's modern successors are elected. The 115 Cardinals eligible to vote for the leader of the Roman Catholic Church will be locked inside the Sistine Chapel and subjected to rules both new and old

The Cardinals swear an oath of secrecy, promising to avoid contact with the outside world until a Pope is chosen. Three Cardinals are picked to count votes, three to check the counts and three to assist ailing electors in casting ballots.

To vote, each elector—disguising his handwriting—puts a name on a paper ballot, folds it twice and carries it to the altar. There, he swears an oath to Christ, places the ballot on a plate and tips the plate as the ballot falls into a large chalice.

## Why It's Different This Time

**Benedict's butler, Paolo Gabriele, leaked documents that depict a mismanaged Vatican, with some clerics more focused on their own agendas than on serving the Pope.**



PSST!

The bookies like non-Europeans, which would make history. The Cardinals can elect any Catholic man—though don't count on Bono



**11:4**  
ODDS THAT  
A FRONT  
RUNNER,  
CARDINAL  
PETER  
TURKSON OF  
GHANA,  
WILL  
BECOME



**1,000:1**  
ODDS THAT BONO  
WILL BECOME POPE

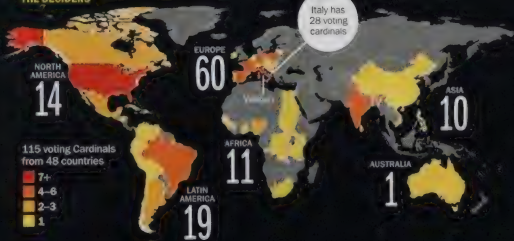
## Peter

NAME MOST LIKELY TO  
BE TAKEN BY THE NEW  
POPE. ODDSMAKERS SAY

Usually, Popes serve till death. But the Pope Emeritus will live in a former convent in the Vatican, a mere 550 yd. (500 m) from the Apostolic Palace of the new Pope.



# THE DECIDERS



## Count and Recount

The three vote counters, known as scrutineers, begin their work. The first shakes the chalice to mix the ballots; another counts the ballots to make sure all present have voted. The third reads aloud the name on each ballot, recording it on paper.

## Search for Agreement

One round of voting is allowed on the first day. Voting continues, up to four times a day, until a candidate receives two-thirds (77) of the votes. No rule, except the sin of pride, forbids a Cardinal to cast a ballot for himself.

## The New Pope Takes a Name

When a candidate receives the votes necessary to win, the dean of the College of Cardinals asks whether he accepts the job. The moment the candidate consents, he is the Pope. He then declares his papal name and is presented to the world.

## SIGNALING THE WORLD

The Cardinals' ballots are burned in the Sistine fireplace after each round of voting. It's the only way the public is informed about the progress of the proceedings.

Black smoke indicates no choice; the color comes from straw or chemicals.

White means "We have a Pope"; bells ring to confirm.

days. The past five conclaves lasted an average of three days

## THE PAPAL WARDROBE

Benedict will retire a few signature items, but his successor will still have the Gammarellis, outfitters of every 20th century Pope except Pius XII, who kept his own tailor.



Benedict will give up his famous red shoes for Mexican-made loafers

After a Pope dies, his ring is destroyed as a symbol of the end of his power. Benedict will lose his ring but not his influence



The Gammarellis will deliver three identical sets of outfits to the Vatican in three sizes: small, medium and large. They hope one will fit



All you need to know about sequestration but were afraid to ask

you changed the channel, you clicked away from the headlines, and you tried to ignore it. But the sequester can no longer be avoided. On March 1, the latest dysfunctional deadlock in Washington will trigger \$85 billion in automatic cuts to federal spending over the next seven months, a reduction of about 2.4%. Pretty much anyone in any position of authority—Democrat or Republican—agreed this was a terrible idea when the law was written in 2011. Forecasters say the cut, if fully enacted, would slow U.S. economic growth by half a percentage point this year. But elected leaders are not yet ready to strike a compromise to replace the cuts. So it's time to pay attention. Here's what you need to know:

se·ques·ter

What it  
really  
means.

(si-'kwes-tər) v. 1. To remove or separate (origin Latin, *sequestrare*, to give up for safekeeping) 2. To haphazardly cut federal spending (origin U.S. lawmakers, who can't agree on anything more rational)

MSI's list of five "most innovative" companies in the world includes Microsoft, which ranked 10th on the list. The company's success is attributed to its "innovative" products, which include the Windows operating system, the Internet Explorer web browser, and the Office suite of productivity software. The company's success is also attributed to its "innovative" marketing strategy, which includes the use of "innovative" advertising techniques.

Nice try, IRS employees won't begin their furloughs until after April 15, so you still have to pay. The FBI isn't going to stop arresting people either though the cuts will eventually take a bite out of crime fighting.

Some things will not be cut by the sequester, including Social Security, Medicaid and antipoverty initiatives like food stamps. Medicare will be trimmed by just 2%. Overseas combat operations and the paychecks of troops are also protected. However, some programs for the poor, like emergency unemployment benefits, face an 11% cut, and disaster relief for New Jersey and other storm-battered areas could be cut by \$1 billion.

That's the \$85 billion question. No one knows. It could happen before the end of March, when Congress faces yet another deadline—to continue funding for the entire government. That would be the optimistic scenario," says budget expert Scott Lilly. "That somehow these knuckleheads come to their senses within that period of time." If no deal is struck by then, all nonessential government operations will cease. Neither side wants government services to slow to a crawl, but it could happen.

Congress could grant the White House authority to make smarter cuts and perhaps put the blame on Obama in the process. Budgeters could delay some reductions until later in the year to buy Congress time to rewrite the law, but that would be risky. "If these cuts are concentrated into an even shorter period, there will be an even deeper cliff," Werfel says.



[illegible]

**Dr. C. Everett Koop** Surgeon general

By taking his messages directly to the public—via television or cross-country speaking tours—Koop galvanized antismoking efforts, leading to the smoke-free workplaces, airplanes, hotels and restaurants we have today. He also became an outspoken AIDS educator, even as the Reagan Administration in which he served was slow to confront the disease. Despite his personal convictions about the importance of abstinence until marriage, a controversial report he prepared on HIV acknowledged the value of condoms in curbing the virus's spread. Frustrated by the Administration's failure to act, he mailed an AIDS brochure to 100 million U.S. households. Says Paul Billings, senior vice president for advocacy and education for the American Lung Association: "He was the personification of what the surgeon general can and should be." —ALICE PARK

**Denis Forman, 95.** British TV executive behind some of the U.K.'s most popular and exportable fare, including *Brideshead Revisited*, *The Jewel in the Crown* and the multipart documentary *7 Up*.

The NHL record for consecutive season-opening games with at least one point earned in the standings, by the **Chicago Blackhawks**; they scored in 19 straight games, winning 16.

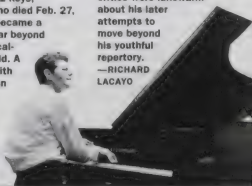


By a 5-4 vote of the Supreme Court, a **challenge to a 2008 law** expanding the government's power to eavesdrop on e-mail and phone calls, on the theory that "future injury is too speculative."

**Alan Westin, 83,** lawyer and political scientist whose 1967 book *Privacy and Freedom* foresaw many of the legal issues surrounding the free flow of personal information in the Internet age.

**A statue** of civil rights pioneer Rosa Parks, in the U.S. Capitol; she becomes the first African-American woman honored with a full-length figure in the Capitol's Statuary Hall.

**Sophie Kurys, 87,** who earned the moniker the Flint Flash for stealing 1,114 bases during eight seasons of play in the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League from 1943 to 1950.



## Chuck Hagel

'Our men and women in uniform and their families must never doubt that their leaders' first priority is them.'



In a 58-41 Senate vote, by far the closest on any successful nominee for the post, Hagel was confirmed as the next Secretary of Defense. A former two-term Republican Senator from Nebraska and a twice-wounded Vietnam veteran, Hagel faced immediate opposition, not from Senate Democrats but from his former GOP colleagues and newly elected, very conservative Republicans. After delaying the vote by filibuster, they relented, clearing the path to confirmation on Feb. 26.

**Van Cliburn** Classical pianist

At the height of the Cold War, even a piano could be an instrument in the great contest between East and West. That was the lesson of the victory of 23-year-old Van Cliburn in the 1958 Tchaikovsky International Competition in Moscow. A beaming Texan with hands that spanned 12 keys, Cliburn, who died Feb. 27, instantly became a celebrity far beyond the classical-music world. A huge hit with the Russian people—his win had been secretly okayed by Nikita

Khrushchev—he was welcomed home with a ticker-tape parade in Manhattan. Yet though he was a greatly gifted musician, Cilburn's early stardom may have thwarted his musical growth. His concert and recording income skyrocketed, but many critics were lukewarm about his later attempts to move beyond his youthful repertory. —RICHARD LACAYO



For arthritis patients, it's simple physics:

***A body in motion tends to stay in motion.***



## Celebrex can help relieve arthritis pain...so you can keep moving.

Staying active can actually relieve arthritis symptoms. But if you have arthritis, staying active can be difficult. Celebrex can help relieve arthritis pain...so *your* body can stay in motion.

- Just one 200mg Celebrex a day can provide 24-hour relief for many with arthritis pain and inflammation.\*
- Celebrex is proven to improve pain, stiffness and daily physical function in clinical studies.\*\*
- Celebrex can be taken with or without food.
- Celebrex is not a narcotic.

When it comes to finding the right arthritis treatment for you, you and your doctor need to balance the benefits with the risks. So ask your doctor about prescription Celebrex. It could be an important step towards keeping *your* body in motion.

Visit [celebrex.com](http://celebrex.com) or call 1-888-CELEBREX for more information.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch) or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

\*Individual results may vary. \*\*Clinical studies with osteoarthritis patients.

### Important Safety Information:

All prescription NSAIDs, like CELEBREX, ibuprofen, naproxen and meloxicam have the same cardiovascular warning. They may all increase the chance of heart attack or stroke, which can lead to death. This chance increases if you have heart disease or risk factors for it, such as high blood pressure or when NSAIDs are taken for long periods.

CELEBREX should not be used right before or after certain heart surgeries.

Serious skin reactions, or stomach and intestine problems such as bleeding and ulcers, can occur without warning and may cause death. Patients taking aspirin and the elderly are at increased risk for stomach bleeding and ulcers.

Tell your doctor if you have: a history of ulcers or bleeding in the stomach or intestines; high blood pressure or heart failure; or kidney or liver problems.

CELEBREX should not be taken in late pregnancy.

Life-threatening allergic reactions can occur with CELEBREX. Get help right away if you've had swelling of the face or throat or trouble breathing. Do not take it if you have bleeding in the stomach or intestine, or you've had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergies to aspirin, other NSAIDs or certain drugs called sulfonamides.

Prescription CELEBREX should be used exactly as prescribed at the lowest dose possible and for the shortest time needed.

See the Medication Guide on the next page for important information about Celebrex and other prescription NSAIDs.



**Pfizer Helpful Answers**

Finding a need for prescription assistance.

Uninsured? Need help paying for Pfizer medicines?

Pfizer has programs that can help. Call 1-866-706-2400 or visit [PfizerHelpfulAnswers.com](http://PfizerHelpfulAnswers.com)

**CELEBREX**  
(CELECOXIB CAPSULES)

**For a body in motion**

## Medication Guide

for

### Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)

(See the end of this Medication Guide for a list of prescription NSAID medicines.)

What is the most important information I should know about medicines called Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

NSAID medicines may increase the chance of a heart attack or stroke that can lead to death.

This chance increases:

- with longer use of NSAID medicines
- in people who have heart disease

NSAID medicines should never be used right before or after a heart surgery called a "coronary artery bypass graft (CABG)."

NSAID medicines can cause ulcers and bleeding in the stomach and intestines at any time during treatment. Ulcers and bleeding:

- can happen without warning symptoms
- may cause death

The chance of a person getting an ulcer or bleeding increases with:

- taking medicines called "corticosteroids" and "anticoagulants"
- longer use
- smoking
- drinking alcohol
- older age
- having poor health

NSAID medicines should only be used:

- exactly as prescribed
- at the lowest dose possible for your treatment
- for the shortest time needed

What are Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

NSAID medicines are used to treat pain and redness, swelling, and heat (inflammation) from medical conditions such as:

- different types of arthritis
- menstrual cramps and other types of short-term pain

Who should not take a Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drug (NSAID)? Do not take an NSAID medicine:

- if you had an asthma attack, hives, or other allergic reaction with aspirin or any other NSAID medicine
- for pain right before or after heart bypass surgery

Tell your healthcare provider:

- about all of your medical conditions.
- about all of the medicines you take. NSAIDs and some other medicines can interact with each other and cause serious side effects. **Keep a list of your medicines to show to your healthcare provider and pharmacist.**
- if you are pregnant. NSAID medicines should not be used by pregnant women late in their pregnancy.
- if you are breastfeeding. Talk to your doctor.

What are the possible side effects of Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)?

Serious side effects include:

- heart attack
- stroke
- high blood pressure
- heart failure from body swelling (fluid retention)
- kidney problems including kidney failure
- bleeding and ulcers in the stomach and intestine
- low red blood cells (anemia)
- life-threatening skin reactions
- life-threatening allergic reactions
- liver problems including liver failure
- asthma attacks in people who have asthma

Other side effects include:

- stomach pain
- constipation
- diarrhea
- gas
- heartburn
- nausea
- vomiting
- dizziness

Get emergency help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- shortness of breath or trouble breathing
- chest pain
- weakness in one part or side of your body
- slurred speech
- swelling of the face or throat

Stop your NSAID medicine and call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of the following symptoms:

- nausea
- more tired or weaker than usual
- itching
- your skin or eyes look yellow
- stomach pain
- flu-like symptoms
- vomit blood
- there is blood in your bowel movement or it is black and sticky like tar
- skin rash or blisters with fever
- unusual weight gain
- swelling of the arms and legs, hands and feet

These are not all the side effects with NSAID medicines. Talk to your healthcare provider or pharmacist for more information about NSAID medicines.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

Other information about Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Drugs (NSAIDs)

- Aspirin is an NSAID medicine but it does not increase the chance of a heart attack. Aspirin can cause bleeding in the brain, stomach, and intestines. Aspirin can also cause ulcers in the stomach and intestines.
- Some of these NSAID medicines are sold in lower doses without a prescription (over-the-counter). Talk to your healthcare provider before using over-the-counter NSAIDs for more than 10 days.

### NSAID medicines that need a prescription

Generic Name	Tradename
Celecoxib	Celebrex
Diclofenac	Cataflam, Voltaren, Arthrotec (combined with misoprostol)
Diflunisal	Dolobid
Etidolac	Lodine, Lodine XL
Fenoprofen	Naifon, Naifon 200
Flurbiprofen	Ansaid
Ibuprofen	Motrin, Tab-Profen, Vicoprofen* (combined with hydrocodone), Combunox (combined with oxycodone)
Indomethacin	Indocin, Indocin SR, Indo-Lemmon, Indomethagan
Ketoprofen	Oruvail
Ketorolac	Toradol
Mefenamic Acid	Ponstel
Meloxicam	Mobic
Nabumetone	Relafen
Naproxen	Naprosyn, Anaprox, Anaprox DS, EC-Naproxyn, Naprelan, Naprapac (copackaged with lansoprazole)
Oxaprozin	Daypro
Piroxicam	Feldene
Sulindac	Clinoril
Tolmetin	Tolectin, Tolectin DS, Tolectin 600

\* Vicoprofen contains the same dose of ibuprofen as over-the-counter (OTC) NSAIDs, and is usually used for less than 10 days to treat pain. The OTC NSAID label warns that long term continuous use may increase the risk of heart attack or stroke.

This Medication Guide has been approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. LAB-0609-1.0



# Michael Grunwald

## I'm with the Tree Huggers

The activists fighting the Keystone XL pipeline are radical—and right



THE RESPECTABLE CENTER HAS RECOGNIZED that climate change is not only real and man-made but also a genuine emergency. The scientific evidence has become too stark to indulge denial or dithering. The earth is hotter; Arctic ice is melting at a terrifying rate; staid institutions like reinsurers and the CIA are sounding dire warnings about rising seas and extreme droughts. There's an emerging consensus that fossil-fuel apologists are on the wrong side of the battle of the century.

But there's also an emerging consensus—among newspaper editorial boards, respectable-centrist pundits, even the magazine *Nature*—that the rabble-rousing activists who have tied themselves to the White House gates and clamored for President Obama to reject the Keystone XL pipeline are picking the wrong fight. Stopping Keystone, these critics point out, wouldn't prevent catastrophic warming. It might not even prevent the extraction from Canada's dirty tar sands. It wouldn't cut emissions as much as new coal regulations or clean-energy subsidies or carbon pricing. Meanwhile, approving the pipeline would create jobs and reduce our dependence on petro-dictators while signaling that Obama isn't as radical as the tree huggers protesting outside his house.

WELL, I'M WITH THE TREE HUGGERS. THE pipeline isn't the worst threat to the climate, but it's a threat. Keystone isn't the best fight to have over fossil fuels, but it's the fight we're having. Now is the time to choose sides. It's always easy to quibble with the politics of radical protest: Did ACT UP need to be so obnoxious? Didn't the tax-evasion optics of the Boston Tea Party muddle the anti-imperial message? But if we're in a war to stop global warming—a war *TIME* declared on a green-bordered cover five years ago—then we need to fight it on the beaches, the landing zones and the carbon-spewing tar sands of Alberta. If we're serious about reducing atmospheric carbon below 350 parts per million, we need to start leaving some carbon in the ground.

Yes, Keystone would create temporary construction jobs, but so would any other construction project. We're already less reliant on Middle Eastern oil than we've been in decades. And there is zero chance that approving the pipeline would, as *Nature* suggested, help Obama "bolster his credibility" with industry

### THE BREAKDOWN



### REACH

The Keystone XL pipeline extension would carry Canadian crude from oil sands in Alberta to refineries along the Texas Gulf Coast



TransCanada, the Canadian firm behind the pipeline, says the project would create 20,000 jobs.

However, a Cornell study shows it would create only 20 full-time positions and 2,500 to 4,600 two-year temporary jobs


groups and Republicans; they would celebrate their victory and continue their twilight struggle.

It's true that imposing tough new carbon restrictions for power plants would do far more to control greenhouse gases than rejecting the pipeline, but there's no reason Obama can't do both. It's also true that a tax or other government price on carbon could do even more to keep fossil fuels underground, but Congress simply won't go there. Rejecting Keystone would at least put a logistical price on carbon from the tar sands, forcing industry to find costlier routes to market—while giving activists a chance to block those too.

WHAT WE REALLY NEED IS A POLITICAL PRICE on carbon, a policy presumption that cleaner is better. Fossil-fuel interests understandably reject that notion. But so do respectable pundits, because they're desperate to differentiate themselves from the unkempt riffraff who never shut up about the broiling of the planet. Respectable pundits see themselves as rational analysts, not emotional activists. They recognize the emergency but feel uncomfortable about the sirens. They endorse the war, but like armchair McClellans, they are always finding excuses for why we shouldn't fight.

I'm an analyst too. I'm reasonably kempt. I've mocked the activists who whine about Obama's "climate silence" while ignoring his climate actions—like unprecedented efficiency mandates that have slashed demand for dirty energy and unprecedented green investments that have launched a clean-energy revolution. But when it comes to Keystone, my analysis is that the activists are right. Fossil fuels are broiling the planet. The pipeline would turn up the heat. If Obama approves it, he'll deserve all the abuse the activists hurl his way. There are many climate problems a President can't solve, but Keystone isn't one of them. It's a choice between Big Oil and a more sustainable planet. The right answer isn't always somewhere in the middle.

At his second Inaugural, after his memorable line about Selma and Stonewall, Obama finally broke his climate silence. He vowed to fight to slash emissions, "knowing that the failure to do so would betray our children and future generations." Keystone isn't a perfect battlefield, but neither was Selma or Stonewall. In a war, you don't always get to choose where to fight. You still have to show you're willing to fight. ■

A full-page photograph of a Marine in dress uniform standing on the White House grounds. The Marine is in the foreground on the left, facing right, with his hand near his face. The background shows a green lawn, a paved path, and dense trees. The title 'The Path To War' is overlaid in the center-right.

# The Path To War

**Face-off** President Clinton and Israeli Prime Minister Peres hold meetings to discuss nuclear programs in the White House in 1994.



From peaceful outreach  
to pledge of conflict.  
Inside Barack Obama's struggle  
to stop an Iranian nuke

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

# One year ago, Barack Obama convened his National Security Council in the Situation Room in the basement of the West Wing to talk about war with Iran.

Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu was publicly threatening to attack Iranian nuclear sites. If Netanyahu went ahead, the U.S. could be dragged into a war on Israel's terms, long before options to avoid conflict had been exhausted. Under fire from Republicans for being a fair-weather friend to Israel, Obama had scheduled a speech to the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and an interview with an American reporter widely read in Israel. The question in the Situation Room that day: What would happen if Obama publicly committed to a war to keep Iran from getting a nuclear weapon?

Obama had never made such a promise in public, and he thought it would help persuade Netanyahu to step back from the brink. But by speaking out, he would be putting the U.S.'s credibility on the line in the global effort to prevent Tehran from getting a weapon. If he promised to go to war and didn't follow through, other nations in the region, distrusting American assurances of protection, would start their own nuclear programs. Obama said that he was aware of the risk but that he wanted to draw the line in public anyway. On March 4, 2012, Obama told the AIPAC crowd, "I will not hesitate to use force when it is necessary to defend the United States and its interests." In his interview with Jeffrey Goldberg of the *Atlantic*, he said, "As President of the United States, I don't bluff."

One year later, Iran has yet to call it. Even as Obama has committed to using military force to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon, he has worked hard to avoid war. Attacking Iran's nuclear sites could cost American military and civil-

ian lives, set off a wave of terrorist attacks, spike oil prices and sour the U.S.'s relations with Muslims worldwide. So Obama has tried to slow or derail the Iranian program through a combination of diplomacy, sanctions and covert action. He has succeeded in pushing the timeline for war back at least 12 months.

But eventually time will run out. As talks among Iran, the U.S. and other international powers ended inconclusively on Feb. 27, even optimists said Obama's promise will be put to the test in his second term. The Pentagon has launched the largest buildup of forces in the Gulf since the run-up to the 2003 Iraq war, and Iran has boosted security around its nuclear sites and is reportedly handing out shoulder-launched missiles capable of downing civilian airliners to loosely allied terrorist groups in the region. Senior congressional Republicans say they are expecting to be briefed soon on the options and consequences of a U.S. strike.

In the mythology of the American presidency, a Commander in Chief makes tough decisions once, unreservedly, and then acts. Just as often, though, a President acts to avoid tough decisions and then works behind the scenes to steer events, persuade friends and enemies and avoid no-win choices. As the dangerous, complicated drama involving the U.S., Iran and Israel enters its final chapters, Obama will soon face the hardest decision of his presidency. This is the story of how he got here.

## The End of Containment

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT GATES had spent the last two years of George W. Bush's presidency cleaning up the mess of a poorly planned war in Iraq; he wasn't go-

ing to watch the U.S. stumble into a war in Iran unprepared. So in January 2010, he sent a secret three-page memo to the National Security Adviser, General Jim Jones, that would transform the Obama team's thinking and planning on Iran.

For the previous year, Obama had been delivering on his dovish campaign pledge to reach out to the regime in Tehran. He beamed in a conciliatory greeting to the entire country on the Persian New Year and had offered unconditional talks. In Cairo that June, he offered to let Iran keep a peaceful nuclear program. But Iran's leaders rebuffed Obama's efforts, and in the fall of 2009 the Obama Administration revealed that Iran was building a secret uranium-enrichment plant deep in a hillside outside the holy city of Qum.

Shortly thereafter, Israel's Defense Minister, Ehud Barak, threatened to attack Iran. In private to the Pentagon and the White House, Barak argued even more "aggressively that Israel had to strike," says a former senior Administration official. Iranian leader Mahmoud Ahmadinejad had threatened Israel;

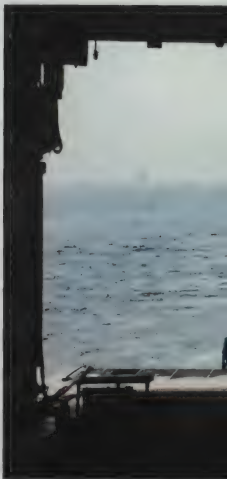


PHOTO: AP/WIDEWORLD; COURTESY OF THE WHITE HOUSE; COURTESY OF THE PENTAGON





**War games** Sailors on the U.S.S. Ponce practice minesweeping in the Persian Gulf

Iran back only a few years, strengthen support for the mullahs' regime at home and fracture international opposition to it abroad.

On the other side, several top Obama aides, including Ross, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and CIA chief Leon Panetta, argued that containment wouldn't work. Iran's regional enemies, particularly Saudi Arabia and Egypt, would not accept American assurances of protection against a nuclear-armed Iran and would pursue their own nukes; Saudi Arabia could get them directly from Pakistan, a close ally. The dynamics of Cold War containment, wherein a "balance of terror" kept the peace between the U.S. and Russia, wouldn't apply in the Middle East, the interventionists argued. "You're in a region where conflict is the norm, not the exception, where everybody's going to feel they have to have a finger on the trigger and where no one feels they can afford to strike second," says Ross.

The most compelling argument for Obama, the former law professor, was that a nuclear Iran would spell the end of the international regime limiting the spread of nuclear weapons. Obama had written about the regime in college and had made denuclearization his primary focus in the Senate. He made bolstering the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty a top priority in his first two years as President, and in his second term, Obama is planning to dispatch top aides to negotiate a large nuclear-warhead reduction with Russia.

The debates continued in the Oval Office, with only the President, Donilon, Gates and Clinton present. Clinton argued against containment; Gates advised the President to keep containment as an option, a senior official familiar with the discussions says. "Gates did not want Iran to have the Bomb and was in favor of exerting far greater pressure on the Iranians," Ross says. "But he was against the use of force if all other means failed." Clinton and Gates declined to be interviewed for this story. A former Gates adviser who

allowing him to get the means to destroy it was unacceptable, Barak and other Israeli leaders argued. Late in the year, the Obama Administration began increasing threats of military force and economic sanctions. At the same time, mysterious cyberattacks began damaging the Iranian nuclear facilities.

But Gates, who had worked for every President since Jimmy Carter, was nearly as alarmed by Washington's lack of readiness as by the bluster coming from Jerusalem and Tehran. He thought the Obama Administration had not sufficiently planned for a war against Iran and worried that Israel was drawing the U.S. into one unprepared. In his secret memo to Jones, the detailed contents of which have not previously been reported, Gates asked hard questions: Was the U.S. goal to keep Iran from getting a weapon or to prevent it from having the capability to get a weapon? What would an Israeli strike mean for the U.S., and how could the Administration keep Israel from acting? Was the U.S. ready not just to attack but also to defend itself and its allies in case of a war? Most

controversial, Gates asked whether the U.S. might be willing to deter and contain Iran if it got a nuke, rather than launch a war to damage its program.

No one at the White House had ready answers to Gates' questions. But the memo quickly became the table of contents for the Administration's Iran strategy. Deputy National Security Adviser Tom Donilon set up working groups to plan for diplomacy, covert action, sanctions and military preparedness. Immediately, Obama's team split over whether a nuclear Iran could be contained or should be attacked.

"There was a debate within the Administration over prevention vs. containment," says Dennis Ross, Obama's top Middle East adviser at the time. Those in favor of planning for containment, led by Gates, argued that another conflict in the region would hurt the U.S., according to senior officials who participated in the discussions. The U.S. had lived with nuclear adversaries before, this side argued, and its vastly superior nuclear force could deter Iran from using its nuclear weapons. Most of all, an attack would set

remains close to him says, "In the 4½ years he was Secretary of Defense, Gates never advocated containment, nor did he ever advocate taking the military option off the table. Indeed, at his urging and with the President's approval, the Pentagon took a number of steps to be better prepared to implement the military option if required."

Aides now say Obama was always against containment. But Ross says it took much longer for him to decide. "The President took his time making a decision on this, as he should," Ross recalls. Even as Gates continued to press his case, the Administration quietly accelerated its planning for war.

### The Covert Campaign

THEN OBAMA CAUGHT SOME BREAKS. IN June 2010, Iran admitted that a cleverly designed computer virus, which came to be known as Stuxnet, had infected the computers controlling its uranium-refining centrifuges. During his presidency, George W. Bush had authorized Operation Olympic Games, a cyberattack designed to cripple Iran's nuclear program. The Stuxnet virus was not only destructive but ingenious. As it commanded the Iranian centrifuges to spin themselves into pieces at high speed, it sent messages to the systems and engineers controlling the machines indicating that they were working properly. The U.S. has not claimed credit, but independent analysts who obtained copies of the virus after it accidentally spread from the Iranian computers to the outside world in 2010 say the virus appears to be the work of an American-Israeli collaboration. Many of the details of Operation

Olympic Games were first reported by New York Times reporter David Sanger.

The cyberwar continued. In May 2012, Iran acknowledged that a virus called Flame had infected its computers, turning them into surveillance devices that control microphones and cameras and relay data to the attacker. Another program, called Wiper, erased hard drives at Iran's Oil Ministry last spring. Computer analysts and media reports suggest that the U.S. and Israel are behind the cyberwar.

Iran suffered other setbacks. At least four Iranian nuclear scientists have been killed in a string of targeted bombings and shootings since 2010. The U.S. has denied involvement. Israel has not commented.

The other big blow to Iran came from an old-fashioned source: diplomacy. After his failed outreach to Tehran in 2009, Obama managed to rally China and Russia behind tough sanctions at the U.N. in June 2010. Past efforts to apply economic pressure had failed in Iraq, North Korea and elsewhere. This time they really took a bite. From 2010 to 2011, Congress approved measures cutting off much of Iran's banking network from the rest of the world. The bills threatened a boycott of any company or bank that did business with the Islamic Republic's nuclear program or those responsible for it. Most countries, faced with the stark choice of cooperating with either Iran or the U.S., chose the U.S. The business of Iran's blacklisted banks "almost completely dried up," says Treasury Under Secretary for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence David Cohen. Last year sanctions passed by Congress and the European Union helped cut Iran's oil export market from 20 countries to six and its sales by volume in half. The value of the Iranian currency dropped in half relative to the dollar in 2012. Inflation is at 27.4%.

### The Road to War

FOR ALL THE SETBACKS, THOUGH, IRAN has continued to expand its nuclear program. In February it announced it was installing new, high-efficiency centrifuges at one nuclear facility. Ahead of recent talks in Kazakhstan, Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, gave a



rallying speech to the Iranian Air Force, which would be hard hit in any U.S. attack. "Negotiations with America will not solve any problems," Khamenei declared. At this point, few in the West would disagree with that.

Former Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage once defined diplomacy as "saying 'Nice doggy, nice doggy' until you can find a stick." Through luck and hard work, Obama has bought time for a massive buildup of forces in the Persian Gulf. General James Mattis, chief of U.S. Central Command, began accelerating the U.S. military increase in the Gulf a year ago. In April, the Air Force deployed a squadron of F-22 stealth fighters to a base in the United Arab Emirates. The U.S. Navy has doubled the number of its minesweeping ships from four to eight and of its patrol boats from five to 10 in the past two years. It has deployed combat search-and-rescue helicopters, unmanned minesweeping submarines and high-tech surveillance systems. Most threatening, it dispatched to the Persian Gulf a second aircraft-carrier battle group

'Gates was in favor of far greater pressure on the Iranians. But he was against the use of force if all other means failed.'

—DENNIS ROSS, OBAMA'S TOP MIDDLE EAST ADVISER, 2009–11



**Spin doctor** Mahmoud Ahmadinejad inspects uranium centrifuges in 2008. Months later, hundreds were damaged by a cyberattack

that had been destined for the Pacific.

The U.S. is also building up other forces in the region. In early 2012, it expanded a military base in Kuwait, stationing two Army infantry brigades, or 15,000 troops, there. That is still a token force, but the U.S. is pre-positioning covert and special-operations capabilities and beefing up facility defenses. It has been operating a drone base out of Saudi Arabia. In July 2012, it deployed the U.S.S. *Ponce*, a converted transport ship that can serve as a floating special-operations base, complete with helicopter pads and several hundred bunk beds. It has delivered long-range X-band missile-defense radars to Israel and Turkey and has reached an agreement with Qatar to deploy a system there too. The U.S. has reportedly asked the U.K. for access to bases on Cyprus, Diego Garcia and Ascension Island for use in an attack on Iran.

Iran, too, has taken preparatory actions, erecting new perimeter fences around its underground enrichment plant at Qum. It recently launched its own cyberattack against the Saudi na-

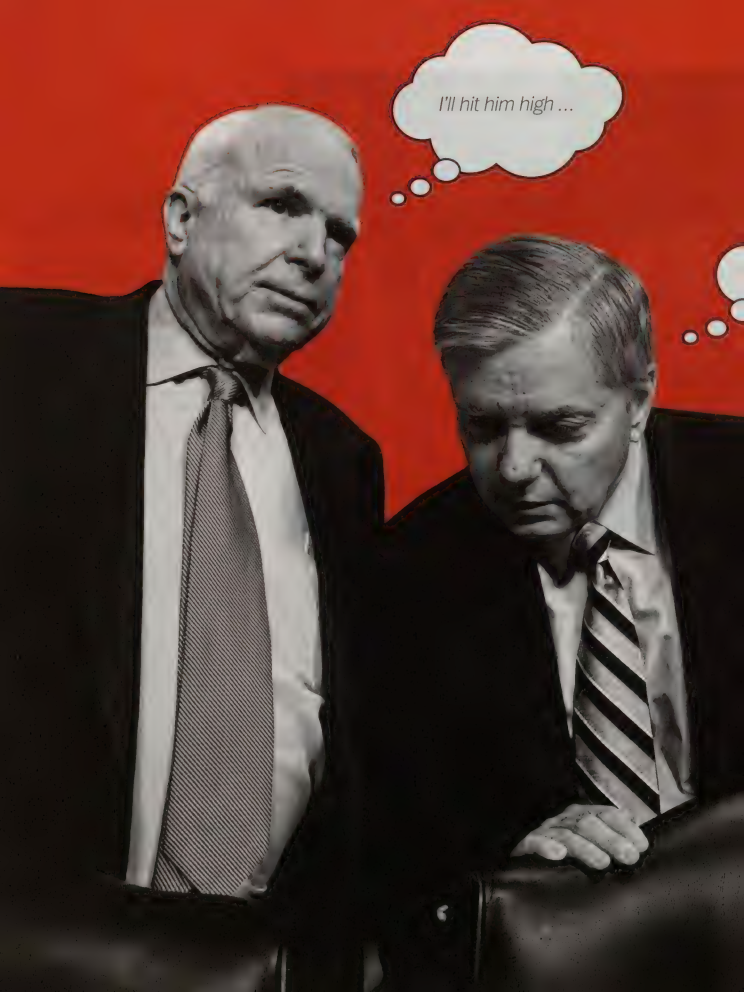
tional oil company, Aramco, and has collaborated with Hizballah in Syria during its unrest. Yemeni officials recently claimed that Iran has been providing non-state actors in Yemen with shoulder-launched missiles capable of taking down commercial airliners. In total, the Gulf has seen in two years the largest military buildup since March 2003.

NETANYAHU, WHO FACES NEW POLITICAL challenges at home, has rolled Israel's deadline back to late spring or early summer, and recent reports say Israeli intelligence thinks Tehran may be on an even longer fuse. The well-regarded U.S. think tank the Institute for Science and International Security says the earliest Iran could get the Bomb is mid-2014. Experts credit the cyberattacks with significantly setting back Iran's nuclear program. And Iran itself has slowed down its efforts, converting some enriched uranium to a form that can be used only in research, not in weapons, thereby keeping its total enriched uranium under the amount needed to make a nuclear weapon. To make up for the drop

in Iranian oil exports and a possible rise in crude prices, Saudi Arabia has stepped up production.

If both sides seem to be wishing for peace even as they threaten war, it's because the costs of conflict would be so high. An overt U.S. attack to set back Iran's nuclear program would likely mean the deaths of American service members—and civilians too, if Iranian-backed terrorist groups downed commercial airliners or launched other attacks against soft targets. The Federation of American Scientists estimates that the cost of open war to the world economy could be \$1 trillion to \$1.7 trillion, when spiking energy prices and trade disruptions are factored in. And war could wipe out the years of post-Iraq diplomatic repair work to the U.S.'s reputation. For Iran, a full-fledged American attack could mean the devastation of its nuclear program and much of its armed forces, plus unimagineable costs to its economy. And still it might not give up its nuclear ambition. Little in the latest round of talks changed that assessment. Secretary of State John Kerry, on his first trip abroad, warned that the failure of diplomacy could have "terrible consequences."

He, like every current and former official interviewed for this story, believes Obama will resort to war if necessary to prevent Iran from getting a nuclear weapon. But only Obama knows for sure. In his AIPAC speech last year, after ruling out containment, Obama said, "I have sent men and women into harm's way. I've seen the consequences of those decisions in the eyes of those I meet who've come back gravely wounded, and the absence of those who don't make it home. Long after I leave this office, I will remember those moments as the most searing of my presidency." One way or the other, as a former senior official says of the coming year, "we are entering the final stages of this drama." —WITH REPORTING BY MICHAEL CROWLEY AND JAY NEWTON SMALL/WASHINGTON ■



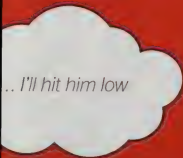
*I'll hit him high ...*



NATION

# Double Trouble

After punching Obama hard, can John McCain and Lindsey Graham shake their rival's hand? By Michael Crowley



WHEN REPUBLICAN SENATORS JOHN MCCAIN and Lindsey Graham arrived for an Oval Office meeting with President Obama on Feb. 26, an icebreaker was in order. And so, teeing up a potshot at his close pal's up-country South Carolina drawl, McCain cracked wise with the President: "When I travel around the world with Lindsey, I usually have to translate his remarks into English."

The quip captured much of what makes McCain and Graham the most interesting duo in Washington right now. The two senators are "amigos," as they call themselves, and merry about the partisan mischief they make—usually at Obama's expense. They also have a kinship rare in Washington politics, a mix of real admiration and political symbiosis. "He is like a son to me," the 76-year-old McCain says of the 57-year-old Graham. "I have watched him grow" as a politician. "It's been a real joy," Graham says of working with McCain.

They may infuriate Democrats with their months-long fixation on the September 2012 terrorist attack in Benghazi, Libya and tactics like their recent delays of the nominations of Chuck Hagel and John Brennan to run the Pentagon and CIA. But at a time of divided government and silly sequesters they're relevant enough for the President to summon them to the White House to talk about immigration reform. Obama knows that getting a bipartisan reform bill will probably require cutting a deal with two of the GOP's top proponents of overhauling the immigration

system. Never mind that McCain has accused Obama of "a massive cover-up" in Benghazi or that Graham has said Obama could have saved lives if he'd taken more action the night of the attacks.

But in Washington you can smack someone with one hand while extending the other for a handshake. Which is why McCain and Graham are keen to make it clear they carry no grudge against Obama. "I've been the same way with other Presidents. I called for the resignation of Rumsfeld over Iraq," McCain says. "It's not personal," Graham says. "This is a business to me. You disagree on Monday, and on Tuesday you work together."

## The Buddy Movie

GRAHAM AND MCCAIN HAVE BEEN FRIENDS for more than a decade, a partnership born of their shared passion for national security (McCain was a Navy pilot, Graham is still an Air Force Reserve lawyer), a willingness to poke their party's base in the eye and an uncanny knack for attracting the media's attention. More surprising and quotable than bland party leaders like Mitch McConnell and John Boehner, they are virtual fixtures on the influential Sunday talk shows, a platform they use to drive the Washington agenda. Last March, McCain's 64th appearance on NBC's *Meet the Press* set the show's all-time record. Graham may break it someday, having appeared on at least one Sunday show five of the past 10 weeks.

The pairing benefits them both. McCain, for his part, seems to relish grooming a protégé (though he insists that Graham is more "partner" than disciple). Having Graham by his side may also

insulate him from suggestions that he's still embittered by his 2008 loss to Obama. "I have no reason on God's green earth to be angry," McCain insists—so animated that he hops out of his chair and takes a quick lap around his desk for no apparent reason. "It's interesting to me that if I'm critical of a President who's a Republican, well, it's the brave maverick taking on his own party. And then when it's a President of the other party? Ah! It's the angry old man again that's out there, bitter and angry."

For Graham, McCain offers credibility with the party establishment, not to mention a black belt in manhandling the media. Graham might also need McCain's support for his very survival in politics.

Tea Party activists still haven't forgiven Graham for the way he played footsie with Obama early in the President's first term on issues ranging from immigration to climate change to closing the Guantánamo Bay prison camp. Back then, Graham almost seemed to revel in defying his party's base. "Everything I'm doing now... is completely opposite of where the Tea Party movement's at," Graham told the *New York Times* in June 2010. He called the movement "just unsustainable" and said, "It will die out." It didn't, of course, and Graham has since backed away from his conciliatory positions.

But many South Carolina Republicans—some of the nation's most conservative voters—haven't forgotten that history. "He's basically a Democrat in Republican clothing," says Michael Brady, a Tea Party activist from Boiling Springs, S.C., who recalls a meeting with Graham early in Obama's first term. "Mr. Graham told us that he wasn't going to listen to the Tea Party, that he would be voting his conscience," Brady says.

Graham has yet to draw a serious primary challenger, though he predicts he will sooner or later. ("Oh, I definitely expect that.") Working with the President on immigration reform—"Grahamnesty," his critics call it—isn't likely to help his chances of running unchallenged. Neither is his recent statement that he could accept a deficit-reduction deal that traded higher tax revenue for cuts to entitlements. Asked about that, McCain grins the way one friend might when the other is in trouble with his spouse. "Lindsey likes to say things that other people won't say," McCain says.

Still, Graham has \$4.5 million in his war chest and polls show his approval rating up among South Carolina Republicans. This may be the Benghazi effect. Conservative media have been fixated on the attack as an alleged symbol of Obama's



**Consorting with the enemy**  
McCain and Graham with  
Chuck Schumer on the Hill

failed foreign policy and Nixonian dishonesty. Hammering at the issue has won Graham and McCain copious airtime on outlets like Fox News. To the delight of conservatives, their successful campaign to torpedo Susan Rice's prospects to become Secretary of State after she relied on some questionable talking points about the attack shook the President's cool. "If Senator McCain and Senator Graham and others want to go after somebody, they should go after me," Obama snapped at a November press conference.

Democrats suspect that Graham and McCain are playing a clever political game, making exaggerated hay over Libya to score points with conservatives who might break out over potential deals with Obama on immigration and the budget. (McCain, too, has hinted he could accept higher tax revenues in a budget deal.) "What I've seen is Senator McCain doing what he can to protect Graham's flank while Graham is out there using the media to beef up his conservative bona fides," says Jim Manley, a former aide to Senate majority leader Harry Reid.

More recently, Graham and McCain trained their fire on Hagel and Brennan, delaying Obama's nominee for Defense Secretary and now his pick for CIA chief with demands for more Benghazi facts, including details about exactly what the President was doing during the attack. (The White House says that Obama was in close touch with his national security

team and that every effort was made to save the besieged Americans.) Hagel was confirmed just after McCain and Graham visited the White House. But as Graham told the pack of reporters who swarmed him at the Capitol that afternoon, "We still have Brennan."

With immigration, the amigos are about to face a mighty challenge. There are few things the GOP base hates more than the idea of amnesty. McCain's 2008 campaign almost didn't make it past the New Hampshire primary because of anger over his immigration position. At a recent Arizona town hall, McCain parried several questioners on the issue, including one who suggested that only guns can keep the border secure and another whose invective led McCain to call him a jerk. But both men insist that their party's survival requires an end to its anti-Latino image. And their trip to the White House, which both sides called constructive, proved that the amigos' slap-and-stroke act might just be working. As Obama has reached out to them—including by phone days before the meeting—their Benghazi rhetoric has seemed to cool. Asked whether he can imagine the Libyan trail leading to impeachable offenses, Graham says no. "This is not the first Administration to shade national security matters for their own benefit," he says. "It's nothing that hasn't been done before in some fashion."

Reflecting on his recent history with the President, Graham says, "Over time, I think the President kind of went one way and I went the other. And immigration could be the thing that gets us back together." —WITH REPORTING BY ALEX ROGERS/WASHINGTON

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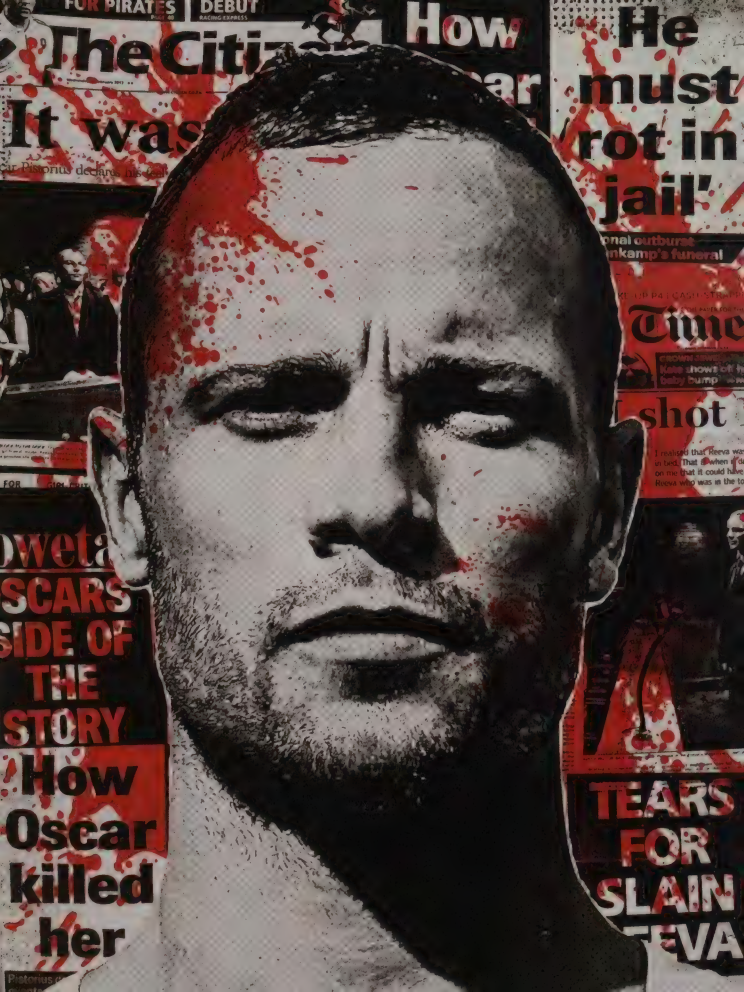
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**WORLD**

# **OSCAR PISTORIUS AND SOUTH AFRICA'S CULTURE OF VIOLENCE**

The Olympian and his girlfriend seemed to have the perfect romance—until he killed her

**BY ALEX PERRY**

# Four days before Oscar Pistorius shot her in the elbow, hip and head through the bathroom door at his home in Pretoria, Reeve Steenkamp

tweeted a message about violence against women in South Africa. "I woke up in a happy safe home this morning," the 29-year-old wrote. "Not everyone did. Speak out against the rape of individuals." As Valentine's Day broke with the news that the 26-year-old who became a global icon in 2012 by running in both the Paralympics and the Olympics had killed his girlfriend, Steenkamp's words—repeated around the world—only added to the sense of improbability. I checked Steenkamp's words on Twitter. Then I found myself scrolling back through her life in 140-character snippets.

Steenkamp—who described herself on Twitter as "SA Model, Cover Girl, Tropical Island of Treasure Celeb Contestant, Law Graduate, Child of God"—tweeted a lot. She loved her friends! She loved red-carpet events and award ceremonies and sponsored parties! She loved her modeling agency and new skin creams and the people who fixed her hair!

Above all, Steenkamp really loved her favorite people. And from New Year's Day to Jan. 7 she posted regularly from a vacation she was taking in and around the city where she was born, Cape Town, with a few friends and the man she called "my boo," who on Twitter goes by @OscarPistorius. On Jan. 3 she posted a picture of the sunrise taken from the balcony of the \$680-a-night presidential suite at a spa hotel in Hermanus, 90 minutes southeast of Cape Town. Later that day she tweeted, "The chauffeurs in Cape Town hey. Nice!" and attached a picture of Pistorius driving an Aston Martin. On Jan. 4, name-checking Pistorius, her best friend, a private banker and a luxury-car importer who was sourcing a McLaren sports car for Pistorius, she tweeted about a lunch the five were sharing at Cape Town's newest hip hangout. "Shimmy Beach Club!" she wrote. "Too good! too much food!!! Amazing holiday :)"

Steenkamp had been dating Pistorius only since November. However brief their life together, her tweets reveal the glamorous life of the white South African elite. In many ways, the end of apartheid 19 years ago, and the crippling sanctions that died with it, made their lives better. Incomes rose, guilt fell. But beyond the painful irony of a woman killed by gunshots having tweeted about violence against women, there was also the killer's defense: that Steenkamp was the tragic victim of a racially splintered society in which fear and distrust are so pervasive that citizens shoot first and ask questions later. And then there was the murder scene itself, a locked bathroom within a fortified mansion in an elite enclave surrounded by barbed wire, in a country where more than half the population earns less than \$65 a month and killings are now so common that they reach the highest echelons of society and celebrity. Why is gun violence so prevalent in South Africa? Why is violence against women so common?

Was this homicide?

Why did Oscar kill Reeve?

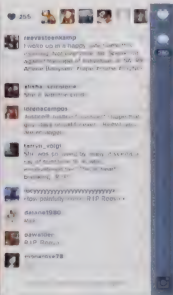
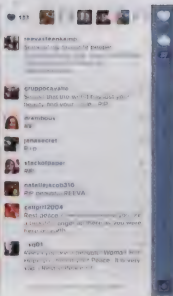
TO UNDERSTAND PISTORIUS AND STEENKAMP, to understand South Africa, it helps to know the place where the couple chose to spend their holiday. Cape Town has arguably the most beautiful geographical feature of any city in the world: Table Mountain, a kilometer-high, almost perfectly flat block of 300 million-year-old sandstone and granite that changes from gray to blue to black in the golden light that bathes the bottom of the world. From Table Mountain, the city radiates out in easy scatterings across the olive, woody slopes as they plunge into the sea. Its central neighborhoods are a sybarite's paradise of open-fronted cafés and pioneering gastronomy, forest walks and vineyards. Commuters strap surfboards

to their cars to catch a wave on the way home. The business of the place is media: fashion magazines, art studios, p.r., advertising, movies and TV. Charlize Theron and Tom Hardy just wrapped the new *Mad Max* movie. Action-movie director Michael Bay is shooting *Black Sails*, a TV prequel to *Treasure Island*.

But while Cape Town's center accounts for half its footprint, it is home to only a fraction of its population. About 2 million of Cape Town's 3.5 million people live to the east in tin and wood shacks and social housing built on the collection of estuary dunes and baking sand flats called the Cape Flats. Most of those Capetonians are black. Class in Cape Town is demarcated by altitude: the farther you are from the mountain, the lower, poorer and blacker you are. Cape Town's beautiful, affluent center is merely the salubrious end of the wide spectrum that describes South Africa's culture and its defining national trait: aside from the Seychelles, the Comoros Islands and Namibia, South Africa is the most inequitable country on earth.

This stark gradation helps explain South Africa's raging violent crime (and why, contrary to legend, Cape Town actually has a higher murder rate than Johannesburg). In 2011 the U.N. Office for Drugs and Crime found that South Africa had the 10th highest murder rate in the world. Rape is endemic. Two separate surveys of the rural Eastern Cape found that 27.6% of men admitted to being rapists and 46.3% of victims were under 16, 22.9% under 11 and 9.4% under 6—figures that accorded with the high proportion of attacks that occurred within families.

But what really distinguishes South Africa from its peers in this league of violence is not how the violence rises with inequality nor its sexual nature—both typical of places with high crime—but its pervasiveness and persistence. With the



exception of Venezuela, all the other top 10 violent countries are small African, Central American or Caribbean states whose populations tend to be bound together in close physical proximity, creating tight knots of violence. South Africa, on the other hand, knows crime as a vast stretch of lawlessness covering an area twice the size of France or Texas. And it has been that way almost as long as anyone can remember.

In 1976, first Soweto, then all of South Africa's poor black townships, rose up against apartheid in a tide of insurrection and protest. To this day, large areas of the country remain no-go areas for the police. In his 2008 book *Thin Blue*, for which he spent 350 hours on patrol with South Africa's police, Jonny Steinberg describes the relationship between police and criminals as part "negotiated settlement," part "tightly choreographed" street theater in which criminals make a show of running away and officers half-heartedly pursue them. His thesis is that "the consent of citizens to be policed is a precondition of policing." And in South Africa for two generations now, that consent has been lacking.

**WHY DOES NO ONE TRUST THE STATE?** For blacks, it's partly because of South Africa's historical legacy. And for all South Africans, but particularly for whites, it's partly because the ruling African National Congress (ANC) is tarred by corruption and criminality. Scandals involving government ministers seem like a weekly occurrence. About a tenth of South Africa's annual GDP—as much as \$50 billion—is estimated to be lost to graft and crime. The past two national police chiefs were sacked for corruption. In the southeastern city of Durban last year, all 30 members of an elite police organized-crime unit were suspended, accused of more than 116 offenses, including theft, racketeering and 28 murders. The initial lead investigator in Pistorius' case, Detective Warrant Officer Hilton Botha, was removed after it emerged that he faced trial on seven counts of attempted murder. Most damning of all, the ANC's self-enrichment has helped widen the inequality that first propelled it to power. The result of this dismal record is that while murder rates are down from their peak, the resentment and violence continue.

Unable to rely on the state, South Africans are forced to cope with crime

essentially on their own—and over time, that has shaped the nation. Policing is largely a private concern. In 2011, South Africa's private security industry employed 411,000 people, more than double the number of police officers. In the townships, vigilante beatings and killings are the norm.

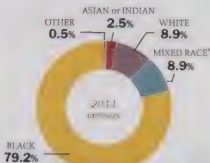
The ultimate example of this private crime control is the security estate. The ancestors of the white Afrikaners, 19th century Dutch settlers, had their own response to overwhelming danger: circling their wagons in an impenetrable laager. The most celebrated laager was at the Battle of Blood River in 1838, in which 470 Dutchmen killed 3,000 Zulu warriors while sustaining light wounds to just three of their own. The security estate—a walled-off cluster of houses protected by razor wire, electric fences, motion detectors and guards—is the 21st century laager. Its purpose is the same: separation from what Afrikaners call the *swart gevaar* or “black threat.” The security estate is a private, individual, exclusive solution to that fear. And Silver Woods in Pretoria, where Pistorius lives behind electrified 8-ft.-high (2.5 m) security walls watched over by the estate's dedicated security force, is one of the most exclusive guarded communities in the country.

For all its defenses, it failed to keep violence at bay. By Pistorius' account, his fear of an intruder, the fear that keeps the people of South Africa apart still, caused the man so many saw as a unifying figure to shoot his girlfriend dead.

IF SOUTH AFRICA REVEALS ITS REALITY through crime, it articulates its dreams through sports. When in 1995—a jittery year after the end of apartheid—South Africa's first black President, Nelson Mandela, adopted the Afrikaner game, rugby, and cheered the national team on to a World Cup win, he was judged to have held the country together. In 2010 his successors in the ANC delivered the message that Africa was the world's newest emerging market and open for business through the faultless staging of a soccer World Cup.

Pistorius was the latest incarnation of South African hope. He was born without a fibula in either leg, and both were amputated below the knee before

### Racial distribution



\*Includes descendants of Malay slaves and light-skinned indigenous bushmen.

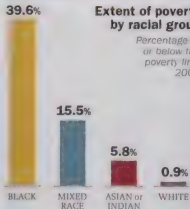
### Change in income since apartheid

1995–2005, by race of household head, adjusted for inflation



### Extent of poverty by racial group

Percentage at or below the poverty line, 2007



Sources: Statistics South Africa; OECD; UNODC; Small Arms Survey; South African Police Service; Bureau of Economic Research at Stellenbosch University; Trade & Industrial Policy Strategies



he reached his first birthday. Using prosthetics, Pistorius went on to play able-bodied sports at Pretoria Boys High School, one of the country's most prestigious private schools, before a knee injury left him on the sidelines. Advised to run for his recovery, he began clocking astonishing times using carbon-fiber blades that copied the action of a cheetah. In 2012 in London, he took two Paralympic gold medals and one silver and ran in an Olympic final and semifinal.

Pistorius credits his drive to his mother, who died at 42 when he was 15. He has the dates of her life tattooed in Roman numerals on his right arm, and by his account Sheila Pistorius did much to stamp the Afrikaner spirit of the devout, stubborn pioneer on her son. Just before the 11-month-old Pistorius underwent the





**But Not Alone** Pistorius' defense team argues that he was not alone in his struggles

operation to remove his lower legs, she wrote a letter for him to read when he was older. "The real loser is never the person who crosses the finishing line last," she wrote. "The real loser is the person who sits on the side. The person who does not even try to compete."

Pistorius has said he remembers Sheila, a working single mother who had divorced his father, shouting to her children as they got ready to leave the house, "Get your shoes! And Oscar, get your legs!" By giving him no special treatment or pity but showing no hint of underestimating him either, Sheila gave her son a belief not just that he was normal but also that he was special—divinely destined for the extraordinary. After he became an athlete, Pistorius chose a second tattoo for his left shoulder, the words of 1 Cor-

**Unable to rely on the state, South Africans are forced to cope with crime largely on their own—and over time, that has shaped the nation**

inthians 9:26–27: "I do not run like a man running aimlessly."

In a long battle with other athletes and sporting authorities, who argued that his prosthetics gave him an unfair advantage, he demanded to be treated like any other athlete—and succeeded as few ever had. Cool, handsome and impeccably dressed in appearances on magazine covers and billboards the world over, he forever altered perceptions of the disabled and even altered the word's meaning—an ambition Pistorius encapsulated in his mantra: "You're not disabled by the disabilities you have, you are able by the abilities you have."

In South Africa, Pistorius' achievements resonated deepest of all. In a nation obsessed by disadvantage, he was the ultimate meritocrat, a runner with no legs who ignored the accidents of his birth to

compete against the best. Many South Africans no doubt would have seen his color before anything else. But for some, he existed, like Mandela, above and beyond South Africa's divisions. He had outraced the past and symbolized a hoped-for future. "We adored him," wrote the black commentator Justice Malala in Britain's *Guardian*. "For us South Africans ... it is impossible to watch Oscar Pistorius run without ... wanting to break down and cry and shout with joy."

WITH PISTORIUS' ARREST FOR STEENKAMP's murder, South Africa's dreams collided with its reality. Pistorius doesn't dispute that he killed Steenkamp. Rather he contends his action was reasonable in the circumstances.

The essence of Pistorius' argument is unyielding defense of his laager. In an affidavit read in court by his lawyer, Barry Roux, Pistorius recalled how the couple spent Valentine's eve quietly at his two-story home. "She was doing her yoga exercises and I was in bed watching television. My prosthetic legs were off." Despite having dated only a few months, "we were deeply in love and I could not be happier." After Steenkamp finished her exercises, she gave him a Valentine's present that he promised not to open until the next day. Then the couple fell asleep in his second-floor bedroom.

Pistorius used to tell journalists that he never slept easy. In his affidavit, he said he was "acutely aware" of South Africa's violent crime. "I have received death threats before. I have also been a victim of violence and of burglaries before. For that reason I kept my firearm, a 9-mm Parabellum, underneath my bed when I went to bed at night."

Pistorius awoke in the early hours of Feb. 14. He remembered a fan he had left on his balcony and fetched it by hobbling on his stumps. Closing the sliding doors behind him, he "heard a noise in the bathroom ... I felt a sense of terror rushing over me. There are no burglar bars across the bathroom window and I knew that contractors who worked at my house had left the ladders outside."

"I grabbed my 9-mm pistol. I screamed for him/them to get out of my house ... I knew I had to protect Reeva and myself ... I fired shots at the toilet door and shouted to Reeva to phone the police. She did not respond and I moved backwards

### Gun homicides

Per 100,000 people, 2007

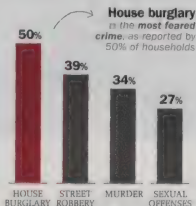


### #6

World ranking in total gun homicides after Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela and the U.S.

## 8,319

Total gun homicides in 2007



### Crime is highly concentrated

Gauteng province, where Pistorius lives, is the most populous (12.2 million)

### #1

Rank in residential robberies among South African provinces

## 64,714

Reported burglaries, 2011-2012

## +88%

Increase in the rate of residential robberies in the past five years



out of the bathroom, keeping my eyes on the bathroom entrance. Everything was pitch dark ... When I reached the bed, I realized Reeva was not in bed. That is when it dawned on me that it could have been Reeva who was in the toilet."

Pistorius says he put on his legs, beat down the locked door with a cricket bat, called an ambulance and carried Steenkamp downstairs to his front door, where he laid her on the floor. "She died in my arms," he wrote.

APARTHEID LITERALLY MEANS SEPARATION. Nineteen years after Mandela and the ANC overthrew apartheid, South Africa still struggles with its divisions. What race divided, crime and distrust have now atomized. In a reverse of the U.S. experience, segregation has reached its logical end point: disintegration.

The dissolution is everywhere. Rival ANC leaders tear their party apart. Local politicians shoot each other in the street—40 assassinations in the past two years in President Jacob Zuma's home state of KwaZulu-Natal alone. The wave of labor unrest that saw police shoot dead 34 miners at a Marikana platinum mine last August—and has held South Africa's economy hostage ever since—has its origins in a power struggle between two unions. In the townships,



South African blacks beat and kill Zimbabweans, Somalis and Congolese. In white areas, Afrikaner whites separate themselves from English whites, nursing a distrust that dates from the 1899–1902 Boer War.

In the first years after apartheid, Archbishop Desmond Tutu spoke about a "rainbow nation." The new South Africa has turned out to be no harmonious band of colors. Behind the latest in intruder deterrents for the elite, or flimsy barriers pulled together from tin sheets and driftwood for the poor, South Africans live apart and, ultimately, alone.

Despite the adulation he received, that isolation seemed to have touched Pistorius. He sometimes seemed out of step. At his bail hearing, Steenkamp's best friend, Samantha Greyvenstein, said Steenkamp told her "sometimes... Oscar was moving a little fast." Likewise, Steenkamp's housemate has told journalists that Pistorius was a persistent suitor to the point of harassment. In his summation, prosecutor Gerrie Nel noted that Pistorius once persuaded a friend to take the blame for firing a gun in a restaurant. "Always me," said Nel. "Protect me."

It takes a collective effort to stop a country from falling apart. Fragmented and behind their barricades, individual South Africans just get to watch. JUST ANOTHER

## After apartheid, Desmond Tutu spoke about a 'rainbow nation.' The new South Africa has turned out to be no harmonious band of colors

Every weekend

SOUTH AFRICAN STORY was the weary headline over a picture of Pistorius and Steenkamp in the *iMaverick*, a South African online magazine. Indeed, the media attention directed at the Pistorius case unearthed so many similar South African stories, it began to seem that almost no one connected to it was untouched by violent death. On Feb. 21 came news of Detective Warrant Officer Botha's seven attempted-murder charges. On Feb. 24, reports emerged that Pistorius' brother Carl faces trial for culpable homicide over a 2008 road accident in which a woman motorcyclist died. That same day a first cousin of Magistrate Desmond Nair, who is presiding in the case, killed herself and her sons, ages 17 and 12, with poison at their home in Johannesburg.

There is a moral to these South African stories. A nation whose racial reconciliation is even today hailed as an example to the world is, in reality, ever more dangerously splintered by crime. And inside this national disintegration, however small and well-defended South Africans make their laagers, it's never enough. Father rapes daughter. Mother poisons sons. Icon shoots cover girl. ■

T H E A N S

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**Brain trust** Team USA, from left: Rivet, Snyder, Baxter, Huang and Mebane; Huang's collection of games and puzzles is behind them

Photograph by Cody Pickens for TIME



# W E R M E N



## Kraljevica is a tiny Croatian shipbuilding hamlet on the eastern edge of the Adriatic Sea. If you've heard of it—which you almost certainly haven't—it's probably

because its shipyard, which had been in continuous operation since 1729, went bankrupt last June, a casualty of the pan-European financial crisis. Kraljevica (pronounced Krall-yay-vi-tsa) sits on a shatteringly beautiful, eerily calm bay, across from the stark and cruelly vowel-less island of Krk.

The views are spectacular. But for three clear, sunny days in October they went unappreciated, because Kraljevica was hosting the World Puzzle Championship. Not only was nobody outside, nobody was even looking out a window.

You probably haven't heard of the World Puzzle Championship either, but you should have, because it's the most extreme test of pure logical-reasoning power on the planet. It has taken place annually for the past 21 years; in 2012 it drew 145 contestants from 26 countries, many of them people who eat, breathe and, on the rare occasions when they sleep, dream about puzzles full time.

These guys are outliers, honest-to-God geniuses. But they're just the most illustrious representatives—the apex predators—of a vast, worldwide puzzling population that numbers in the hundreds of millions. Puzzles have always been a ubiquitous but unassuming and peripheral presence in our lives, folded meekly into the back pages of magazines and newspapers. But with the rise of the Internet and mobile devices, they've moved closer to center stage and become a not insignificant part of global culture, almost as pervasive, in terms of their reach and the number of person-hours they consume, as television and movies. No one knows exactly how many Americans do puzzles, but everyone agrees that the number of crossword puzzlers runs into the tens of millions. Estimates for the number of sudoku players run up to 80 million worldwide. And that's to say nothing of puzzlish and puzzlesque activities like Scrabble, Words with Friends, bridge, Tetris, Rubik's

Cubes (over 300 million sold) and *Angry Birds* (260 million users at last count). Now that puzzles have escaped from newspapers and migrated onto our phones and tablets, no idle moment is safe from them.

At the elite level, puzzle solving is in no way a casual activity. It's as intense and arcane and competitive as chess, in some ways more so. But events like the World Puzzle Championship, or WPC, tell us a lot about why ordinary people solve puzzles, and always have, and probably always will.

### Completely in Control

THE REASONS AREN'T SELF-EVIDENT. You'd think we have enough problems in our lives without making up more of them. Puzzles demand concentration and intellectual effort, to the point where they resemble work more closely than they do play—the main difference being that at least with work you tend to get paid for your trouble. So why bother?

Because puzzles are actually neither work nor play; they're something else. "We're faced with problems every day in life, and we almost never get clarity," says Will Shortz, the crossword editor of both the *New York Times* and NPR. "We jump into the middle of a problem, we carry it through to whatever extent we can to find an answer, then we just get on with things and find the next thing. Whereas with a human-made puzzle, you have the satisfaction of being completely in control: you start the challenge from the beginning, and you move all the way to the end. That's a satisfaction you don't get much in real life. You feel in control, and that's a great feeling."

"And as with any human activity," Shortz goes on to say, "you want to know how good you are compared with other people." Hence the WPC.

For many years, the major international competition on the puzzling calendar was the International Crossword Marathon, a

tradition that began in Poland in 1984. (If you're noticing an East European theme to this article, it's because that part of the world has a highly robust puzzling culture, dating back to the economically straitened, media-poor period in the 1970s and '80s, when a lot of Eastern Europeans had only pencils and paper for entertainment.) The object of the International Crossword Marathon was to create the largest possible crossword puzzle—25 squares wide and as long as you could make it—in 24 hours.

Shortz went every year, but privately he thought it was a little silly. Participants used their own languages and their own national crossword rules, and as a result it wasn't a very good basis for comparing raw puzzle-solving skill across cultures. Plus it was exhausting. Shortz imagined something that would be closer to an Olympics of logic. "My idea," he says, "was that we would have a true competition that would be equal for all countries. It would not involve word puzzles like crosswords. It would involve things like—nowadays—sudoku, KenKen, number puzzles, logic puzzles, picture puzzles. Things that everyone can do equally, no matter what their language and culture." The first WPC was held in New York City in 1992. It's been held in a different city every year since: Minsk, Rio de Janeiro, Cologne, Utrecht. And Kraljevica.

Unbeknownst to many of its inhabitants, the U.S. is a powerful puzzling nation, having won world championships in 15 of the past 21 years, either as a team or as individuals. We sent two four-person teams to Kraljevica, an A team and a B team, drawn from the top finishers at the U.S. Puzzle Championship, an open event that takes place every summer. This year the American teams were composed entirely of men; in terms of the gender imbalance, the U.S. puzzle establishment is shamefully retrograde. (Women are better represented on the teams from Europe.)

High-level competitive puzzlers tend to be single (at this level, puzzles have a way of eating your life and leaving no room for anything else), tend to have a math or computer-science background and tend to be young. The elder statesman of Team USA, at 37, is Wei-Hwa Huang, a former Google coder who quit to design and solve puzzles full time. Calm and apparently infinitely knowledgeable,

## Three Puzzles from The Championship

For solutions, see page 45

### NUMBER TREE

Place the numbers 1–21 into the circles (15 and 16 have been placed for you) so that for each branch, the bottom number is the sum of all the connected numbers above it. Hint: Remember that each circle will have a different number. Consider what numbers are possible for the bottom circle.

#### EXAMPLE



### PENTOMINO

Place the 12 given shapes (known as pentominoes) in the grid. The shapes can be rotated or flipped over, but they cannot touch one another, not even at a corner. For each row and column, the number of squares covered by the shapes is given outside the grid. Hint: Analyze the rows and columns that will be nearly full or nearly empty, remembering that pieces cannot touch. Start with the column with the 9 and the row with the 5. Re-evaluate this hint as you make progress.

#### EXAMPLE



#### EXAMPLE



### POKER

You have a deck of 28 cards: 8 through ace in four suits. Arrange 25 of these cards in the five-by-five grid so that the 12 named poker hands appear in the rows, columns and diagonals. The location of some cards and suits are given. Hint: Consider the cards where the royal flush overlaps with the two four-of-a-kinds.

SOURCE: CROATIAN PUZZLE FEDERATION



Huang has been at every WPC except the first. He's won it four times, though the last time was in 1999.

The team's current reigning powerhouse is Thomas Snyder, 33, a rapid talker with boyish sticky-up hair and a quick smile that alternates with a perennially worried expression. Snyder has been the U.S. puzzle champion six times, and he's generally acknowledged to be one of the top two or three puzzle solvers in the world. Atypically for competitors at this level, he has a serious career outside puzzles: he has a Ph.D. in chemistry from Harvard, and he was, until recently, the lead scientist at a biotech firm called Immumatrix. "What I'm very good at is observation puzzles," he says. "You've got a grid with tons of numbers, but you've got to pick out the few that are critical to see and use them. It's sort of what I do in my day-to-day job as a scientist. I look through gigabytes of data and find the few pieces that are relevant." There are those who think the distraction of attempting to solve the world's immunological woes is why Snyder is the puzzling world's Ahab: for all his success, he has never won the individual world championship. It's something of an obsession.

Rounding out the A team are Jonathan Rivet, 37, an affable computer programmer from Chicago, and Palmer Mebane, the team's prodigy. He's only 23, but Mebane—who by day works for a website for advanced math students called Art of Problem Solving—has already done something Snyder hasn't: at the 2011 WPC in Hungary he stunned the puzzling world by winning the whole shooting match, defeating even the German juggernaut Ulrich Voigt, who has won it more times than anyone else. (Snyder came in third; Huang was fourth.) Mebane is intense, jittery and as skinny as an addict. Which he is, though drugs are not his addiction. "I'm a pretty introverted person," he says, "so math and puzzles are pretty much all I do in life."

### Pure Logic

THE WORD PUZZLE MEANS A LOT of different things to a lot of different people. Take sudoku, for example. It's generally believed to have been invented, at least in its modern form, in 1979 by Howard Garns, a retired architect from Indiana, who called

it Number Place. It got renamed sudoku in Japan in the 1980s, and then it spread back to the West via the *London Times* in 2004, at which point its popularity exploded—it's the kudzu of the puzzling world. There's a World Sudoku Championship, which is generally held right before the WPC and in the same venue. Snyder has won it three times, though he sat it out in 2012 to save his strength for the WPC.

WPC puzzles are different. They're pure-logic problems. The principles involved are simple. There's no trigonometry, no higher math. The goal is to test reasoning power, not knowledge. "What's great about it is, you don't need a Ph.D. in math," says Todd Geldon, who played for the B team in Kraljevica (and who does, as it happens, have a Ph.D. in math). "It's very accessible in terms of what you're looking at, what the rules are, what the goals are. But actually doing it is very difficult."

In fact, some pure-logic snobs look down on sudoku, whose rules are always the same. At the WPC, the rules of the game change from problem to problem. Each one requires a whole different set of solving strategies—the term of art is *heuristics*—which players often must devise on the fly. You're not just figuring out how to fix something; you're inventing the tools as you go. "What we're really measuring in this competition is who is the best at developing these heuristics rapidly, essentially as you're solving the second puzzle you've ever seen of that style," says Nick Baxter, 55, a veteran competitor who now acts as captain of the U.S. team. "How quickly you grok the subtleties and the interesting interactions between the givens and the constraints, and how you get solutions."

For example, one problem in the 2012 championship consisted of a table-size grid representing Kraljevica's harbor, on which teams had to place as many ships of three different sizes as they could in a

manner that satisfied 17 separate conditions. Every boat had to touch the shore, no boat could touch any other boat, and so on. The puzzle rather starkly revealed the gulf between the Platonic world of logic and our fallen reality: picture a ballroom full of geniuses bent over stylized maps, carefully placing toy boats, one by one, in precise configurations, while in the windows the sun goes down on the actual Kraljevica harbor, standing idle and empty of any ships whatsoever—an incorrectly solved square on the global economic grid.

### The Art of the Puzzle

TO CONNOISSEURS, A PUZZLE IS LIKE A poem, except that whereas poems deal in feelings and ideas, puzzles traffic in pure logical epiphanies. A well-constructed puzzle leads you down a particular chain of reasoning to a specific elegant or counter-intuitive cognitive leap, and as you make it, you know at that moment that you're making precisely the same leap the puzzle designer did. There's a moment of silent intellectual communion, of shared *aha!*

Snyder got a taste of that *aha!* feeling when he was 14. "I was reading an account of the third world championship," he says. "They had a puzzle where the organizer was walking to the dinner area, and he was wearing a very odd shirt with various patterns and shapes. And he drops a plate and makes a commotion, and everybody's supposed to look at him and see the shirt. An hour later they were given a round where they had to reconstruct what he was wearing. And I thought, That sounds cool. I would like to do this."

But professional puzzling has never acquired the same public profile as, say, poker, or even poetry, and one reason is that at that level the puzzles are really hard. Unearthly hard—so hard that it's hard to even explain how hard they are. At the WPC there are point bonuses just for fin-

ishing all the puzzles in a single round, but not many players claim them. In 2012 one round featured 21 puzzles in which each of the answers was linked to the others, and no instructions were given for any of them; before you could solve the puzzles, you had to deduce what the rules were.

Another reason you don't see much puzzling on ESPN is that the rapid development of heuristics is not a very telegraphic activity. In Kraljevica the rounds were conducted with about as much fanfare as a practice-SAT session. An announcer said go, and a large TV at the front of the room started ticking off seconds. Chairs creaked. Someone puffed and swept away eraser fluff and started over. Someone else slapped his forehead, V8-ad-style. It's a serious test of nerve, speed and intelligence, but it's not a spectator sport. The action is internal, and the triumphs and disasters come out only after the fact. "You'll hear some very weird conversations during the breaks," says Baxter. "Oh, I cooked that one" or "I broke that puzzle," which means that you went down and made a logical deduction that wasn't valid, and everything felt good till two-thirds of the way through, then you hit a contradiction and had to erase the entire puzzle—something like that. It's an adventure, every puzzle."

The finals of the 2012 WPC demonstrated both the grand intellectual drama of high-level puzzle solving and the difficulty of translating it into anything resembling popular entertainment. After two days and 13 rounds of competition, the top eight individual scorers were pitted against one another in a three-round playoff. The U.S. wound up with two solvers in the final eight: Snyder was in second place, and Mebane was in fourth. Japan also had two finalists; the Netherlands, Poland and Hungary had one each. Germany had one too: Voigt.

In an effort to heighten the drama, the Croatian organizers set up the finals as a series of head-to-head matches, with the players working on 4-by-4-ft. easels, in permanent marker, so the crowd could follow the action. Not everybody was thrilled about the format. "When's the last time you solved a puzzle on a four-foot-square piece of paper?" Baxter asks. "Standing up? Not being able to erase?"

But it worked, up to a point. The mood in the room was electric. In order to give

**'You start the challenge from the beginning, and you move all the way to the end. That's a satisfaction you don't get much in real life.'**

—WILL SHORTZ, FOUNDER OF THE WORLD PUZZLE CHAMPIONSHIP





*"After 6 weeks on an antidepressant, I was still struggling with my depression. So I talked to my doctor."*

If you've been on an antidepressant for at least 6 weeks and are still struggling with depression, having ABILIFY® (aripiprazole) added to your antidepressant may help with unresolved symptoms as early as 1-2 weeks.\*

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat depression in adults as add-on treatment to an antidepressant when an antidepressant alone is not enough.

### Important Safety Information

Elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis (eg, an inability to perform daily activities due to increased memory loss) taking ABILIFY have an increased risk of death or stroke. ABILIFY is not approved for treating these patients.

Antidepressants can increase suicidal thoughts and behaviors in children, teens, and young adults. Serious mental illnesses are themselves associated with an increase in the risk of suicide. When taking ABILIFY call your doctor right away if you have new or worsening depression symptoms, unusual changes in behavior, or thoughts of suicide. Patients and their caregivers should be especially observant within the first few months of treatment or after a change in dose. Approved only for adults 18 and over with depression.

- Call your doctor if you develop high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate and blood pressure, as these may be signs of a condition called **neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)**, a rare and serious condition that can lead to death
- If you have **diabetes** or have risk factors or symptoms of diabetes, your blood sugar should be monitored. High blood sugar has been reported with ABILIFY and medicines like it. In some cases, extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death
- **Changes in cholesterol and triglyceride (fat, also called lipids) levels** in the blood have been seen in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY
- You and your doctor should check your weight regularly since **weight gain** has been reported with medicines like ABILIFY

\*Based on 6-week clinical studies comparing ABILIFY + antidepressant versus antidepressant alone.

• If you develop uncontrollable facial or body movements, call your doctor, as these may be signs of **tardive dyskinesia (TD)**. TD may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. TD may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY

• **Other risks** may include lightheadedness upon standing, decreases in white blood cells (which can be serious), seizures, trouble swallowing, or impairment in judgment or motor skills. Until you know how ABILIFY affects you, you should not drive or operate machinery

The **common side effects** in adults in clinical trials ( $\geq 10\%$ ) include nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, insomnia and restlessness. Tell your doctor about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions. You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the additional Important Information about ABILIFY on the adjacent page.

Ask your doctor about the option of adding ABILIFY.



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This non-profit organization provides assistance to qualifying patients with financial hardship who generally have no prescription insurance. Contact 1-800-738-0003 or visit [www.millipoint.org](http://www.millipoint.org) for more information

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\*Restrictions apply.

## IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT ABILIFY (aripiprazole)

### ABILIFY® (a BIL i fi) (aripiprazole)

Rx ONLY

This summary of the Medication Guide contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILIFY. This summary does not include all information about ABILIFY and is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information carefully before you start taking ABILIFY and discuss any questions about ABILIFY with your healthcare professional.

#### What is the most important information I should know about ABILIFY?

Serious side effects may happen when you take ABILIFY, including:

- **Increased risk of death in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis:** Medicines like ABILIFY can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality (psychosis) due to confusion and memory loss (dementia). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

- **Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions:** Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions:

Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults within the first few months of treatment. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal thoughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions including people who have or have a family history of bipolar illness (also called manic-depressive illness) or suicidal thoughts or actions.

#### How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

- Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed.
- Call the healthcare provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behavior, thoughts, or feelings.
- Keep all follow-up visits with the healthcare provider as scheduled. Call the healthcare provider between visits as needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms.

#### Call a healthcare provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worrying you:

- thoughts about suicide or dying, attempts to commit suicide, new or worse depression, new or worse anxiety, feeling very agitated or restless, panic attacks, trouble sleeping (insomnia), new or worse irritability, acting aggressive, being angry, or violent, acting on dangerous impulses, an extreme increase in activity and talking (mania), other unusual changes in behavior or mood.

#### What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

- **Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to a healthcare provider.** Stopping an antidepressant medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms.
- **Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses.** It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not treating it. Patients and their families or other caregivers should discuss all treatment choices with the healthcare provider, not just the use of antidepressants.
- **Antidepressant medicines have other side effects.** Talk to the healthcare provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member.
- **Antidepressant medicines can interact with other medicines.** Know all of the medicines that you or your family member takes. Keep a list of all medicines to show the healthcare provider. Do not start new medicines without first checking with your healthcare provider.
- **Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children.** Talk to your child's healthcare provider for more information.

#### What is ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

##### ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat:

- major depressive disorder in adults, as an add-on treatment to an antidepressant medicine when you do not get better with an antidepressant alone.

The symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) include feelings of sadness and emptiness, loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and of energy, problems focusing and making decisions, feeling of worthlessness or guilt, changes in sleep or eating patterns, and thoughts of death or suicide.

#### What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ABILIFY?

Before taking ABILIFY, tell your healthcare provider if you have or had:

- diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family; your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and also during therapy.
- seizures (convulsions).
- low or high blood pressure.
- heart problems or stroke.
- pregnancy or plans to become pregnant. It is not known if ABILIFY will harm your unborn baby.
- breast-feeding or plans to breast-feed. It is not known if ABILIFY will pass into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take ABILIFY or breast-feed. You should not do both.
- low white blood cell count.
- phenylketonuria. ABILIFY DISCMELT Orally Disintegrating Tablets contain phenylalanine.
- any other medical conditions.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken, including prescription medicines, non-prescription medicines, herbal supplements, and vitamins.

ABILIFY and other medicines may affect each other causing possible serious side effects. ABILIFY may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ABILIFY works.

Your healthcare provider can tell you if it is safe to take ABILIFY with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines while taking ABILIFY without talking to your healthcare provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

#### How should I take ABILIFY?

- Take ABILIFY exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it. Do not change the dose or stop taking ABILIFY yourself.
- ABILIFY can be taken with or without food.
- ABILIFY tablets should be swallowed whole.
- If you miss a dose of ABILIFY, take the missed dose as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for the next dose, just skip the missed dose and take your next dose at the regular time. Do not take two doses of ABILIFY at the same time.
- If you take too much ABILIFY, call your healthcare provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 right away, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

#### What should I avoid while taking ABILIFY?

- Do not drive, operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how ABILIFY affects you. ABILIFY may make you drowsy.
- Do not drink alcohol while taking ABILIFY.
- Avoid getting over-heated or dehydrated.
- Do not over-exercise.
- In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
- Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing.
- Drink plenty of water.

#### What are the possible side effects of ABILIFY?

Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY including:

- **Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS):** Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate, and blood pressure.

These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of these symptoms.

- **High blood sugar (hyperglycemia):** Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take ABILIFY (aripiprazole). Extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes (such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes), your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and during therapy.

#### Call your healthcare provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking ABILIFY:

- feel very thirsty, need to urinate more than usual, feel very hungry, feel weak or tired, feel sick to your stomach, feel confused, or your breath smells fruity.
- **Increase in weight:** Weight gain has been reported in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY, so you and your healthcare provider should check your weight regularly. For children and adolescent patients (5 to 17 years of age) weight gain should be compared against that expected with normal growth.
- **Difficulty swallowing:** may lead to aspiration and choking.
- **Tardive dyskinesia:** Call your healthcare provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition. Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY.
- **Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure):** lightheadedness or fainting when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position.
- **Low white blood cell count**
- **Seizures (convulsions)**
- **Common side effects with ABILIFY in adults include** nausea, inner sense of restlessness/need to move (akathisia), vomiting, anxiety, constipation, insomnia, headache, restlessness, dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of ABILIFY. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

#### General information about ABILIFY

- Store ABILIFY at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F. Opened bottles of ABILIFY Oral Solution can be used for up to 6 months after opening, but not beyond the expiration date on the bottle. Keep ABILIFY and all medicines out of the reach of children.
- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use ABILIFY for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ABILIFY to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.
- This summary contains the most important information about ABILIFY. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. For more information about ABILIFY visit [www.abilify.com](http://www.abilify.com).

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the top finishers from the first two days an advantage, they were allowed to pick their puzzle types; this led to a considerable amount of gamesmanship, with players sizing up their own and others' strengths and weaknesses. When play began, Huang and the other Americans provided color commentary, calling out the names of the puzzles in stage whispers as they came up: Dubai Skyscrapers, Magnets, Battleships, Pipes, X-Kakuro, Tapa, High Winds, Rural Tourism. Voigt—a big guy with a rabbinical beard and a receding hairline, as if the heat of his frontal lobes had burned the hair away from his forehead—wobbled early, nearly losing his first match with the Pole. Snyder and Mebane, the defending champ, bulldozed through their first rounds in straight sets. When a contestant finished, he (the participants in the playoffs were all male) stepped away from the puzzle and raised a hand, whereupon a Croatian official would check his work for a tense minute, then turn to the audience and say, curtly, "Iz korrekt."

The most exciting moment came in the semifinals when Mebane faced off against Voigt. Both looked invincible. Mebane stood in front of his easel with one hip cocked and a dead-eyed gunslinger's stare. They traded off victories—holding serve, effectively—but in the third and last puzzle, a complex sudoku variant called Andy's Sudoku, there was drama. Voigt took an early lead, his marker flickering over the grid, filling it with numbers, but then he froze, stared and lunged for a red marker, with which he started making laborious corrections.

Mebane raised his arm first, but after a long, tense pause, the judges waved him over. *Iz not korrekt!* He had to spend a minute in the penalty box before he could go back and fix it. Meanwhile, Voigt finished his corrections and raised his hand. But the judges ruled his answer wrong too. The room exploded with chatter, and the stage flooded with vexed puzzlers. A rumor raced through the crowd: The puzzle itself was broken! It would be tossed out as invalid! That had happened before.

But no—the problem was just reading Voigt's tangled corrections, which eventually ran to three colors. The judges reversed their verdict, and the solution was upheld. For a second, Mebane appeared stunned, until you realized that that was just his customary blank facial expression. Then



he grinned and shook Voigt's hand. The two titans, Snyder and Voigt, would meet in the finals.

Which were, maybe inevitably, an anticlimax. Both parties would later agree that the key factor was solving the meta-puzzle of who got the puzzle types they were best at. For the first three rounds, Voigt and Snyder traded wins, but the fourth puzzle, which Snyder had picked, was his downfall. He made an unlucky guess, and it was exacerbated by the large format, which made it hard to take in the whole puzzle at once. While he was getting back on track, Voigt churned through the puzzle ahead of him.

And that was the win. The Croatian master of ceremonies muttered something deep, Slavic and totally unintelligible into the microphone. Voigt had taken back the

title. He was, for a record eighth time, the world puzzle champion. There was no cash prize, though later that day he would receive a medal and a hideous trophy. The whale had eluded Ahab again.

Snyder was gracious and upbeat in defeat. In fact, in three days of white-hot intellectual competition, I never saw a single unsportsmanlike word or gesture or even facial expression. Ultimately the U.S. would finish third in the team standings, behind Germany and Japan, its lowest team finish in a decade. But the A team took two of the top three individual spots; moreover, an MIT freshman named Anderson Wang, who barely made it to Kraljevica straight from his midterms, placed a respectable 42nd overall. There is hope for the future.

Since then, Snyder has left his biotech job, following a change in direction at Immumetrix. "At the WPC, the problems always have one solution and people generally agree with each other when they've found it," he writes in an e-mail. "In life, things are never as clean." He's launched his own company, Grandmaster Puzzles, which produces gloriously elegant, handcrafted puzzles, in contrast to the computer-generated puzzles that fill dozens of sudoku rags. Meanwhile, the World Puzzle Federation, which oversees the WPC, has started a Sudoku Grand Prix: eight tournaments, hosted by eight countries, all played online. The 2013 WPC has been set for next October in Beijing, and the rumor is that the sponsor, Beijing Media Network, is going to pump a lot of money into it. Maybe the Chinese will crack the TV problem and Team USA will be big in Asia.

Not that Team USA's members seem to care, particularly. What they care about is solving. No more than 10 minutes after the finals ended, Huang broke out a pack of cards, and the U.S. puzzlers started in on a four-handed Chinese card game called Tichu. It was 1:30 in the afternoon; they had time to kill before 3:00, which was the opening bell of an online sudoku tournament run out of Japan. First prize was a T-shirt (which Mebane would claim). In a way, elite puzzlers are like extreme big-wave surfers, endlessly chasing that pure logical high, the correct chain of reasoning that will lead them to the ultimate *aha*. But they're just like the rest of us too. All they really want are questions that have answers. ■



**Man took to flight when we believed.**

**Women won the vote when we believed.**

**Children will stop dying from preventable  
causes when you believe.**

Every day, 19,000 children die of causes we can prevent.  
We believe that number should be **ZERO.**



**BELIEVE IN ZERO**

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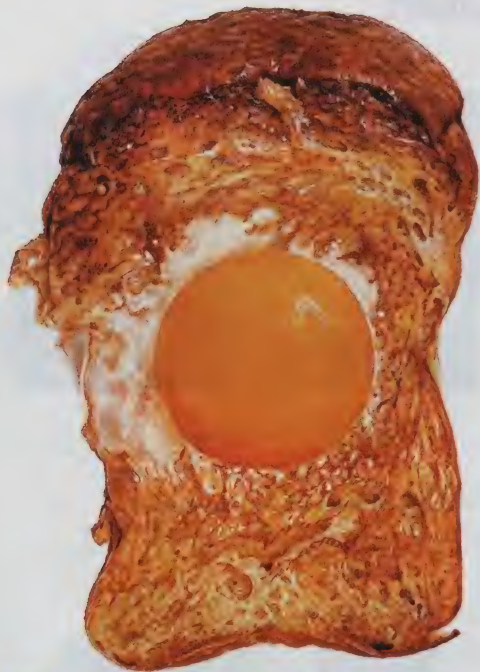


Illustration  
by John Strickland  
for EW.COM  
www.ew.com  
Photo: [illegible]  
Photo: [illegible]

# The Culture

**48 POP CHART** Good eggs / **50 TELEVISION** There will be blood  
**53 BOOKS** A brilliant rags-to-riches tale / **54 THEATER** A young  
playwright on a roll / **56 FASHION** Mending Italy's national treasures

# Pop Chart



STAR WARS EDITION

GOOD WEEK  
BAD WEEK

## Mark Hamill

Is in talks to reprise his role as Luke Skywalker for the new Disney film

## Carrie Fisher

Was hospitalized days after giving a bizarre performance on a cruise ship

## LOL

### A Novel Idea

Think *Moby Dick*'s text is too boring? So did Fred Benenson, a data engineer who translated the whole tome into emoji, the cutesy-symbol language popular on smart phones and comment pages. And now *Emoji Dick* is officially in the Library of Congress. Somewhere, Captain Ahab is seething (again).



Sample excerpt:

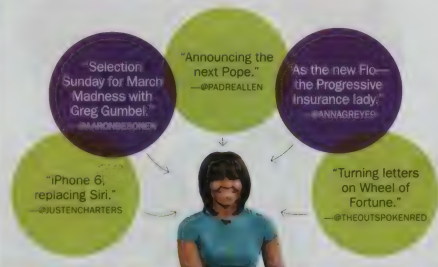


**ELVIS LIVES** *The King* was just a budding prince in early 1956 when photographer Alfred Wertheimer spent eight days capturing Elvis' newfound life on the road—resulting in a series of intimate, revealing snapshots that have been compiled in the book *Elvis and the Birth of Rock and Roll*. See more at [time.com/lightbox](http://time.com/lightbox).

## TWEET BEAT

### Where Should Michelle Obama Pop Up Next?

The First Lady surprised everyone at this year's Academy Awards by appearing live via satellite from the White House to present Best Picture to *Argo*—which led Twitter to speculate wildly about a follow-up.



# 113,000

Copies that One Direction sold of "One Way or Another (Teenage Kicks)" in its debut week in the U.K. The charity single is a Blondie-Undertones mashup.

## All That Razz

Kristen Stewart won Worst Actress at this year's Razzie Awards, but she'll have to film a lot more *Twilight* flicks before she tops these Bad Acting Hall of Famers.



SYLVESTER STALLONE  
31 NOMINATIONS  
10 WINS



ADAM SANDLER  
19 NOMINATIONS  
8 WINS



MADONNA  
16 NOMINATIONS  
9 WINS



KEVIN COSTNER  
16 NOMINATIONS  
6 WINS



EDDIE MURPHY  
14 NOMINATIONS  
8 WINS



**EGG-QUISITE** Cookbook photos are meant to make our mouths water, and this green fried egg is no exception. Except this isn't a photo: it's one of 84 hand-drawn illustrations—all by Fiona Strickland, a botanical artist—gracing the pages of *How to Boil an Egg*, a book of recipes from Rose Bakery in Paris. Bon appétit.

QUICK TALK

**Rachel Zoe**

She may have gotten noticed as a celebrity stylist—with clients such as Jennifer Garner and Anne Hathaway—but Zoe has become a budding mogul. She has a clothing line, a salon and, of course, a reality show (*The Rachel Zoe Project*, whose fifth season premieres March 6 on Bravo). Here, the 41-year-old fashionista lets loose with *TIME*.

—LILY ROTHMAN

**Are you excited to watch the season premiere?** You know, it's funny. I probably won't watch it. It's hard to sit in a room with friends and hear your own voice and watch your face. It's kind of awful. But I'm super-excited about this season. **Why's that?** It's dealing with life—trying to be a full-time mom and work full time. There's not a lot of the pettiness there once was. **And celebrity clients?** Honestly, we're not filming in awards season, so this is much more about fashion



than it is about Hollywood. At this point, all my clients have pretty much been on the show, so that kind of gets old. **You're famous for your catchphrases, like bananas.** But I noticed you're using *maj* [short for major] a lot on Twitter these days. **What gives?** I think the word *maj* just came out one day by mistake, like they usually do, these silly things that I say and then regret later. Now I couldn't say it more if I tried. It just means it's too incredible for words. **So bananas is over?** I have not uttered the word *bananas* in about four years, unless it applies to the actual fruit. **Which celebrities would you love to style?** Michelle Obama and Kate Middleton. But I don't know if they're "celebrities." **Which ones need the most help?** I don't know. I don't think there are any laws in styling anymore. To each his own. **What about your son [2-year-old Skyler]?** Do you style him too? Oh, my God. It's the most fun thing ever. I'm going to be really sad when the day comes when he's not going to let me help him.



GADGETS

**Look Sharp**

Sure, Google Glass sounds cool—the futuristic specs lay a supersmart computing interface over your normal field of vision. But would you actually wear them? To ensure that the answer is “Yes, please!” the tech titan has partnered with hip eyewear retailer Warby Parker, which has mastered the art of nerd chic.

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

- 1. The sex appeal of *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*.** Megan Fox will have a role in the big-screen remake, despite her reported clashes with director Michael Bay.
- 2. Rappers' rights to free speech.** A lawsuit brought by Lindsay Lohan against hip-hop artist Pitbull (for referring to her being “locked up” in his song “Give Me Everything”—was dismissed.
- 3. Getting sick of blonde Britney Spears.** In case you missed it, she's now a brunette.

# Serial Killing

## How TV dramas, good and bad, have become addicted to blood

By James Poniewozik

TV DRAMA HAS BEEN ON FIRE LATELY. LITERALLY.

On HBO's *Boardwalk Empire*, hair-trigger sadist Gyp Rosetti registered his displeasure with a small-town sheriff by dousing him in gasoline and tossing a lighter. (The sheriff's offense? Saying "Good luck" in the wrong tone.) A gangster on FX's *Sons of Anarchy* burned a rival's daughter alive before his eyes. Recently on Fox's *The Following*, a disciple of an Edgar Allan Poe scholar turned serial killer punished an enemy by pouring gas on him and then—*nevermore*.

You don't need to smell the barbecued flesh to know which way the wind is blowing. You can follow the trail of limbs to AMC's *The Walking Dead*, or the strewn corpses to war-torn Westeros in HBO's *Game of Thrones*, or the screams to Showtime's *Homeland*, in which a CIA agent put an exclamation point on an interrogation with a switchblade through his subject's palm.

It's not just that there's too much violence on TV, though there probably is. It's not just that the violence is self-paradoxically extreme, though it definitely is. (On Cinemax's *Banshee*, the villain hacked off a man's finger and fed it to a dog.) And it's not just that TV is drowning in dumb, mindless violence. It's also drowning in smart, mindful violence. Much of it is used in service of serious themes (misogyny in FX's *American Horror Story*, morality and mortality in AMC's *Breaking Bad*). But overall, it's exhausting. Whether on network TV, which is desperate to recobble a mass audience, or on cable, where TV's most ambitious dramas now live, producers have decided that the best way to touch a viewer's heart is to rip it out and show it to him.

EVEN THE MOST DARK-HEARTED SERIAL PROBABLY would not have asked its viewers to imagine what TV news brought us last December from Sandy Hook Elementary School. This is not a Sandy Hook article, at least not in the sense of asking, Does TV make people kill? Before you place Hollywood's prints on a trigger, you have to ask why countries like Britain and Japan, which

consume (and make) the same bloody entertainment, have far lower murder rates than the U.S.

But you don't have to be drawing a facile, causal conclusion from Newtown to ask why we sit down for these grim bedtime stories night after night. David Simon, creator of the classic HBO crime show *The Wire*—whose violence was occasional and unglamorized and whose ratings were accordingly low—wrote about *The Walking Dead* on his blog after Newtown. It would be "ridiculous" to say the violence on the show inspires real murder, he wrote. But it does send a message: "This isn't mere entertainment, it's national consensus... a well-executed and starkly visual rendering of the collective fear that governs us."

Two key words here: *consensus* and *fear*. Contrary to the idea that the masses want feel-good escapism, the bleakest stuff dominates the mainstream. *The Walking Dead* gets the highest 18-to-49 ratings of any drama on TV. (*Talking Dead*, the talk-show about the show that follows it, beat everything on NBC in that demographic one week in February.) *The Following* had over 15 million viewers its first week. CBS—stodgy, middle-of-the-road CBS—has been the most watched network for years largely thanks to crime shows set in a sick, sad world of predators.

Violence is your grandma's entertainment and your nephew's. What they see is life as a relentless struggle and their fellow man as their potential executioner. Whether in suburbia or in 1920s Atlantic City or in a fantasy kingdom, people want what they want and are glad to build their dreams on a pile of skulls.

Why has TV drama become so reflexively brutal? For some of the same reasons it has become so good. Post-*Sopranos* cable is frequently as daring and rich as the best movies because its creators are free—free of limits on language and gore, free of having to make protagonists likable, free to kill off characters, free to break rules (and fingers). But not free of ratings pressure. Basic-cable networks have to chase the viewers advertisers pay for, particularly young men. What gets







## Six Ways to Die on TV. The Grim Reaper has had to get creative



GAME OF THRONES

Prisoners of war had buckets filled with rats strapped to their chests



TRUE BLOOD

Vampire Roman met a gruesome end, impaled with his own stake



FRINGE

A villain was crushed to death by a telekinetically hurled truck



BOARDWALK EMPIRE

A thug buried a victim up to his neck in sand and beat him with a shovel



SPARTACUS

An especially vile poison caused its victims to cough up their esophagi



SONS OF ANARCHY

Biker Otto stabbed a nurse in the neck with a crucifix

their attention are life-and-death stakes. "There's a network buzzword for it. They like things to be 'noisy,'" says *Sons of Anarchy* creator Kurt Sutter. "There's just that need to say, 'Hey, look at me! Look over here! Watch this!'"

TV is changing and audiences are shrinking, which is a reason a show like *Sons* can survive: 5 million or so viewers make it a hit in the era of fragmentation. At root, it's a complex, thoughtful drama about the biker-gang subculture and the way moral debts are paid down through generations. But it has to constantly one-up itself to hold its intensity-minded audience. In last year's season finale, one character (played by Sutter himself) bit off his own tongue and spit it out to avoid interrogation.

Sutter based the show's family struggle on *Hamlet*, and as FX president John Landgraf notes, even Shakespeare was not above a good eyeball-gouging. With intense dramas like *Sons*, *Justified* and *The Americans*, FX has aimed for a balance of prestige and pulp to court a wide range of ages and tastes. "I'm 50 now," says Landgraf. "I watched *Amour*"—the Oscar-nominated chamber piece about an elderly couple—"and I found it fascinating. It doesn't deal with violence, but it deals with death and loss. But when I was 25, I wouldn't have been interested in *Amour*. I would have been interested in *Batman*."

Whatever the commercial motives, TV is capable of handling mayhem intelligently, even artistically. Because it's a serial medium, it can show how violence's effects linger beyond the end of an episode. The fallout of a cop-on-cop murder in *The Shield* drove the whole series. On *Sons of Anarchy*, the rape of the protagonist's mother had emotional repercussions that echoed for an entire season. Maybe the greatest character

on *Game of Thrones*, an unblinking study of cruelty and power, is Arya, who attends her father's execution, witnesses the torture of captives and hardens slowly before our eyes into a coal of vengeance. Shows like these do death the honor of recognizing that it is permanent, even for its survivors.

BUT MANY SHOWS JUST TOSS THE AUDIENCE stabbings and disembowelings like drippy dog treats for sticking through the talking parts. Cinemax's *Strike Back* stacked up 208 corpses in one season, according to [hollywood.com](http://hollywood.com) and [funeralwise.com](http://funeralwise.com). Starz's *Spartacus* might as well be called *Spartacus*, with its slo-mo gushers of ichor and video-game-like slashing. *The Following* is worst of all: a shallow imitation of "cable-like" drama that milks torture and child-in-danger scenarios and centers on a pompous murder Svengali who's as rounded a villain as Sideshow Bob. Its butchery doesn't provoke reflection, just the kind of *ewews* and grossed-out giggles that distance you from any real engagement.

*The Walking Dead*, on the other hand, is an interesting hybrid of sensationalistic and sensitive. It's full of long fight scenes, with survivors pinata-ing zombies, whose noggin squish like jelly-filled pumpkins. But it also asks, What are the limits of individualism and of communities? How do you stay good in a time that requires horrible acts?

One of the most moving deaths in the series comes not at a zombie's claws but when a character dies from complications of childbirth. Before she slips away, she says to her young son, "Promise me you'll always do what's right." After she dies, he picks up a gun and—so she won't rise as undead—shoots her through the head. Because he loves her.

IT'S DEEPLY AFFECTING AND HUMAN, AS mother-son mercy rekillings go. But you know what else is affecting and human? Falling in love, and out of it. Growing up. Chasing a dream that doesn't involve running guns or drugs. Coping with illnesses that do not terminate in zombieism. TV's new golden age has given us shows that couldn't have existed 20 years ago. But it hasn't yet found much room for personal, grownup dramas like *thirtysomething* or coming-of-age shows like *Freaks and Geeks*—hour-long stories without explosive physical stakes or even the loopy soap-opera careening of ABC's *Scandal* or PBS's *Downton Abbey*. Beyond *Downton* and AMC's *Mad Men*, the less "noisy" shows often hide in the low-rated margins: ABC Family's *Bunheads*, NBC's  *Parenthood* and Simon's *Treme*, which HBO has kept on like pro bono work.

It's worth asking if and when great TV can achieve as wide a scope of subject matter as great novels and movies. In the meantime, with new *Walking Dead* fans crawling from so many open graves, expect more carnage. Fresh off its huge, sanguinary miniseries *Hatfields & McCoys*, the History channel is debuting its first original drama: *Vikings* (March 3), a kind of *Sons of Anarchy* with longboats instead of Harleys. In one episode, a blacksmith is seized for treason by a Norse chieftain's henchmen, who hold his face close to the smithy's blazing coals. "The sages say we can see our future in the flames," intones the leader. "What do you see?" The man answers, "I see my own death."

Like we hadn't guessed. There's a push, there's a scream, and once again TV gives the same answer to its own burning question.

# Books

## FIRST LINES

Look, unless you're writing one, a self-help book is an oxymoron: You need a self-help book so someone who isn't yourself can help you

HOW TO  
GET  
FILTHY  
RICH  
IN RISING  
ASIA  
MOHSIN HAMID

## A Rich Man's World. A tale of ambition and greed in contemporary Pakistan

By Rob Spillman

MOHSIN HAMID'S NEW NOVEL is a love story and bildungsroman disguised as a self-help book, and the result has all the inventiveness, exuberance and pathos that the writer's fans have come to expect. Hamid's debut novel, *Moth Smoke* (2000), which wove together a 17th century feudal intrigue with a modern banker's decadent demise, won critical acclaim, but he made his break through with *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007), about a Princeton-educated Pakistani whose views on Western culture sour after 9/11 and the American who may or may not have been sent to kill him. An international best seller that was short-listed for the Booker Prize, *Fundamentalist* perfectly captured the post-9/11 tension and paranoia that gripped the U.S. and Pakistan, and it launched Hamid—himself a Princeton-educated Pakistani—into the forefront of contemporary postcolonial writers such as Kiran Desai and Daniyal Mueenuddin.

With *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*, Hamid tackles the archetypal rags-to-riches story, adding contemporary sources of stress like religious sectarianism and looming environmental disaster. Whereas traditional get-rich-quick books focus on the acquiring of wealth, Hamid uses the form to explore the moral costs of the single-minded pursuit of money—and how that quest often messes up the successful pursuit of happiness.

The novel is addressed to "you," a boy whose family moves from a bleak rural village of open sewers and incurable diseases to an unnamed big city that strongly resembles Lahore. Through cheekily imperative chapter titles—"Move to the City," "Don't Fall in Love," "Be Prepared to Use Violence"—we follow the hero on his upward climb from delivery boy of pirated movies to distributor of relabeled expired canned goods to packager of boiled

tap water disguised as fancy bottled water. He eventually becomes the water baron of a city whose physical and moral infrastructure is rotten to the core. He marries well and has a child. All the while, he pines for the beautiful girl who comes in and out of his life on her own rise from model to actress to TV hostess to businesswoman.

The great trick of *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* is in how it creates so much empathy for its narrator, who

hacks through thickets of bureaucracy, tribalism and religious violence on his resolute quest for lucre. He's amoral about business, but he cares deeply for his family, as is revealed in beautifully rendered scenes with his less fortunate siblings, parents and Westernized son, his estranged wife and his dream woman. One of Hamid's most vividly drawn characters is the Lahore-like metropolis, where fundamentalism, hypercapitalism and globalized culture rub up against rampant corruption and extreme poverty. It's an uneasy city facing an epochal transition: "a rising tide of frustration and anger and violence, born partly of the greater familiarity the poor today have with the rich, their faces pressed to that clear window on wealth now afforded by ubiquitous television, and partly of the change in mentality that results from an outward shift in the supply curve of firearms."

Hamid keeps the direct second-person address throughout *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia*, and while it's nimbly applied, it has its limits. In the latter stages of the book, the hero is described from the point of view of modern surveillance elements such as drones, closed-circuit TVs and hacked personal computers. The conceit is clever and incisive, but it threatens to split open Hamid's bag of authorial tricks. Having created a certain intimacy with the protagonist, the reader is kept too much at arm's length. At the end of this marvelous and moving novel, though, Hamid zooms back in on his characters, and this is where he's at his best—in the emotional trenches.





# Theater

## The Quiet American. Amy Herzog is on a rare winning streak. Can the stage hold her?

By Richard Zoglin

AMY HERZOG LIKES TO CALL HER NEW play, *Belleville*, a thriller. Well, she doesn't like to call it that—but for an off-Broadway playwright trying to attract theatergoers to her quietly unnerving character dramas, it's part of the drill. "You have to write a blurb, a short context for people to have when they see the thing," she says. "It's my least favorite part of the whole process." *Belleville*, which opens at the New York Theatre Workshop on March 3 after a successful run at the Yale Repertory Theatre, is an edgy portrait of an American expat couple whose marriage is coming apart in Paris. The atmosphere is tense and disorienting; there are surprise revelations and a shocking dénouement. But it's not the kind of tale that would keep Alfred Hitchcock up nights.

Though her work defies easy hooks, Herzog, 34, has enjoyed an amazing run of four off-Broadway successes in just over two years. Her first produced play, *After the Revolution*, was a semi-autobiographical drama about a family of political radicals whose paterfamilias is revealed as a former spy for the Soviet Union. She largely abandoned politics in her next play, *4000 Miles*, which brought back a character from *After the Revolution*—91-year-old Vera, based on Herzog's lefty grandmother—but focused on the bond she forms with her troubled grandson. In *The Great God Pan*, a journalist learns that he may have been sexually abused as a child, but to label it a play about recovered memory would oversimplify this dark and ambiguous character study.

Her plays are delicate things, with rich characters and subtly unfolding narratives. She writes about the unknowability of people and how lives can be torn asunder when those unknowns start to surface. "The way people cling to belief systems is of enduring interest to me," Herzog says. She calls *Belleville* her "most political play," and not just because of the culture clash it depicts between the American couple and their Senegalese landlords in a working-class French neighborhood. "I was writing

the play around the time of the Bernie Madoff scandal, the collapse of the housing bubble," she says. "There was this feeling that the things we believed about ourselves as Americans were just fundamentally not true, that we're all victims of some crazy hoax." This feeling is made chillingly palpable as the couple's lives unravel.

Petite and fine-boned, Herzog has an Ivy League composure spiced with the zeal of a perfectionist. In rehearsals she sits quietly, twirling a pencil in her hair, speaking up rarely but listened to closely. "She's so smart about engineering a moment, so attentive to the audience's needs, without spoon-feeding them," says Anne Kauffman, *Belleville*'s director.

Herzog grew up in New Jersey, one of two children of a chemistry professor father and psychologist mother. Having acted since fourth grade in everything from *Annie* to, as a Yale undergrad, Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia*, she tried to make it as an actress for a year after graduation. Following a five-month tour in a children's play, she quit to take a job with a theater producer in New York. "I was daunted by the idea of making a career of acting in a fulfilling way," she says. "And I was tired of living out of a van." In between temp jobs, she turned to writing. One of her plays, a Stoppard-like riff on Kafka scholars, got her into the Yale School of Drama, where she studied under dramatist-teachers like John Guare and Richard Nelson. "Her delicacy, perception and depth were unusual for a student of any age," says Guare. "She was a natural."

When she tackled her family history

in *After the Revolution*—her grandfather really did pass secrets to the Soviets—it didn't sit well with all the clan. "The information was out there, but my family hadn't talked about it in an integrated way, so it was touchy," she says. She remains close with her grandmother, now 96, who still lives in her longtime Greenwich Village apartment, but Herzog hasn't quite carried on the family's activist tradition. "Politics is the religion of my family," she says. "I think of myself as being pretty far left, but I'm really falling down on the job. I'm a dreamy, introspective person, not out on the front lines at all. So I feel uneasy about that."

Herzog, who lives in Brooklyn with her husband, off-Broadway director Sam Gold, and their baby daughter, is a little taken aback by her sudden success. And she's approaching a dilemma that faces any rising theater artist. "It's pretty much impossible to make a living," she says. "Everyone I know who's a playwright, including the most successful ones, either teach or write for television." (A small off-Broadway production will earn a playwright \$7,000 or so, though that figure can multiply with regional stagings; *Belleville* will get one this summer, at Chicago's Steppenwolf Theatre.) She is working on a romantic-comedy screenplay for the film and production company Castle Rock. "It's challenging and hard to do well," says Herzog, who appreciates the gig's rewards: membership in the Writers Guild has brought her health insurance (plus DVDs of all the recent Oscar nominees).

She hasn't started a new play yet, insists that a few early unproduced works will remain in the drawer and wants to continue writing for both Hollywood and the stage. After *Belleville*, her most striking and accessible work to date, she may find the choices stacking up. Will Hollywood lure her away before the theater world can fully luxuriate in Amy Herzog's talent? The battle could be an intriguing one. You might even call it a thriller.

**She writes about the unknowability of people and how lives are torn asunder when those unknowns start to surface**

# Fashion

## Re-Branding. Fendi is the latest label to rescue Italy's crumbling treasures

By Stephan Faris

WHEN ROME'S 18TH CENTURY ARTISTS PUT THE FINAL touches on the city's famous Trevi Fountain, they capped the Baroque monument with a dedication from the Renaissance-era Popes who commissioned it. The fountain, immortalized in the film *La Dolce Vita*, is about to undergo a \$2.9 million renovation, but this time, the sponsor isn't a Pope, an Emperor or even the Italian government. It's the luxury-fashion firm Fendi. "This is a gesture to give back to the city that did so much for us," says Fendi CEO Pietro Beccari.

As Italy stumbles through political and financial crises, it is struggling to preserve its historical treasures. Since 2010, funding for archaeological maintenance has been slashed by 20%. Increasingly, help is pouring in from the nation's high-fashion firms, including Fendi, Tod's, Gucci and Prada. (See sidebar.) All these firms built their fortunes with the aid of Italy's reputation for beauty, elegance and craftsmanship. The upkeep of that reputation—which means the upkeep of the nation's priceless works of art and architecture—just seems like good brand management. "These companies see themselves as linked to the country's heritage," says Dariusz Arya of the American Institute for Roman Culture.

Tod's is drawing that link rather literally, by stamping its logo on tickets to the sinking, disintegrating Colosseum, though rumors that Tod's would plaster the

monument with advertising did not prove true. Fendi won't be adding its double-F logo to Trevi's Corinthian pilasters; its donation will be marked for four years only by a small plaque near the fountain. Still, Beccari maintains that investing in one of the eternal city's landmarks burnishes his company's brand. "Customers don't only want to buy a product," he says. "They want to hear beautiful stories. Rome is a city that makes millions of people dream."

Those dreamers included the founders of Fendi, which began as a small fur workshop in central Rome in 1925. The company's bedrock line of Sellaeria handbags (which were given a fur makeover in Fendi's latest runway collection) took inspiration from the city's saddlemakers. Designer Silvia Venturini Fendi, a granddaughter of the founders, says the city's layers of Classical and Baroque architecture, exemplified by Trevi, provided the seed for the design of the Baguette handbag, one of Fendi's best-selling items. "The city is a constant source of inspiration," she says. "In Italy and especially in Rome, we can really touch the centuries." With a little luck and a lot of fashion-world largesse, those centuries won't soon crumble beneath our fingers. ■

\$3.3 million  
to restore five  
Renaissance-era  
fountains in Rome

\$33 million to  
rehab Rome's nearly  
2,000-year-old  
Colosseum

Half its Florence  
museum's ticket  
sales donated to  
preserve the city's art


Funding a six-year  
restoration of an  
18th century palazzo  
in Venice

\$6.7 million (from  
its parent company)  
to restore Venice's  
16th century  
Rialto Bridge

\$1.4 million  
to restore the  
3rd century Arch of  
Augustus in Perugia





A woman with dark hair is shown from the chest down, wearing a white t-shirt. A black circular sticker with the word 'GROWL' in white capital letters is stuck to the front of her shirt.

## A SMALL HUNGER PANG. A GIANT LEAP FOR HOSPITALITY.

Some of you recently reminded us that you can actually be a little bit hungry. And what you eat at noon you probably don't want to eat at midnight. So we went back to the kitchen and every other room to relook at the hotel experience with you in mind.

But first step, menus. Menus with smaller portions and balanced options day or night. Menus with dishes you can create. All so you can eat what you want, when you want.

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# Joel Stein

## Happy 90th Birthday, TIME!

Good news: I got you the gift of eternal youth

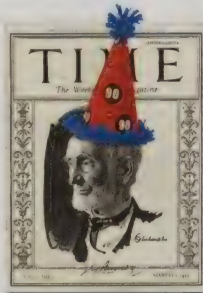
I'VE NEVER ACTUALLY HAD A 90-year-old sugar-daddy boyfriend, but if I did, I would tell him that he looks handsome with his elegant red border, classic font and thinning-but-still-there paper stock. I would also do whatever I could to keep him healthy.

So when I found out *TIME* turns 90 this week, I called some experts for advice on keeping the magazine relevant, interesting and solvent enough to overpay columnists. It is, I learned, about 100 times easier to get an incredibly famous 90-year-old on the phone than an unemployed 25-year-old.

**Norman Lear, the 90-year-old creator of TV shows like *All in the Family*, told me *TIME* should keep doing what it's always done but to be aware that as soon as you turn 90, people treat you differently even if you act the same.** "Suddenly I walk into a room, they're ready to applaud. I'm told how great I look all the time, and they don't mean beautiful. They mean, 'You're alive,'" he said. People root for nonagenarians, Lear told me, because it gives them hope that they might live that long too. With magazines folding constantly, *TIME*'s mere existence will impress people. All those other magazines at the newsstand will be encouraged by the fact that they might still exist after there are no Kardashians to put on their covers.

We definitely, though, need to stop writing about old people. No more covers called HOW TO DIE and more about

hot moms breast-feeding. Lear, the most successful sitcom creator ever, recently wrote a script about retirees in Palm Springs, Calif., called *Guess Who Died?*—and not one network bought it. "They can't get over how good I look at 90 but won't honor the demographic. One Betty White does that for all of us, across 100 networks,"



he said. If Norman Lear can't sell *Guess Who Died?*, how could *TIME* sell that obituary cover of Gerald Ford?

Instead, we should surround ourselves with young people, as Lear has. In addition to having a bunch of young poet friends, Lear stays up on new ideas through his 18-year-old twin daughters. *TIME* definitely should get a whole bunch of 18-year-old twin daughters. We should start by giving those Lear girls internships.

It's O.K. to also hang out with people our age, like 90-year-old Carl Reiner, whom Lear had lunch with a few days earlier. Reiner, who created *The Dick Van Dyke Show* and directed *The Jerk*, told me that by just doing what he has always done—writing a few hours a day, appearing on *The Tonight Show*, tweeting once a day, promoting himself by mentioning his new book, *I Remember Me*, three times in our conversation—he feels more active and relevant. *TIME*, he said, should continue doing what it does so it will last at least until it finally puts him on the cover. Which I would have considered pitching if I hadn't learned a lesson from the failure of *Guess Who Died?*

Reiner also stays up on pop culture, since nearly every night, 86-year-old Mel Brooks comes over to watch TV (*Justified*, *The Good Wife*, *Homeland*, *The Daily Show*, *The Colbert Report*, *Real Time with Bill Maher*). It is totally acceptable, I was glad to learn, for *TIME* to take naps.

**Looking for more practical guidance,** I told Dr. Oz that I have a 90-year-old friend who could use some health advice. He told me that frailty is the No. 1 cause of death for people in their 90s, which was shocking because I would have guessed that the No. 1 cause of

death for people in their 90s was being in their 90s. "Most important," he said, "give your heart a reason to keep beating by bringing a positive energy to the world." This was the most subtle way anyone had ever asked *TIME* to get rid of my column.

I also asked financial expert Dave Ramsey what to tell my 90-year-old friend who's still working—but in a rapidly shrinking field—and has a lot of people dependent on him. Ramsey said something about how ice-block owners panicked when refrigeration was invented but a few smart ones went into the ice-cube business. I was going to tell Richard Stengel, the editor of the magazine, about this, but I was afraid he was going to tell me that writing a story about these newfound ice cubes was a great idea.

I did run the other great ideas I'd picked up past Rick, who rejected all of them, arguing that *TIME* is forever contemporary because it explains the world of today. "To me, there's nothing that seems older than trying to seem young. Is there a different way to do a sequester story for people in their 20s or 30s?" Yes, Rick. By not doing a sequester story.

So I'm going to take *TIME* out more—maybe an early-bird dinner with *Lucky*, brunch with *BuzzFeed*, some theater with *Rookie*—and make it spend more quality time with *TIME* FOR KIDS. Otherwise I'm going to help it keep doing what it's always done. I'll just take a nap during that sequester story. ■

## If You Currently or Previously Owned, Purchased, or Leased Certain Toyota, Lexus, or Scion Vehicles,

### You Could Get Benefits from a Class Action Settlement.

There is a proposed settlement in a class action lawsuit against Toyota Motor Corp. and Toyota Motor Sales, U.S.A., Inc. ("Toyota") concerning certain vehicles with electronic throttle control systems ("ETCS"). Those included in the settlement have legal rights and options and deadlines by which they must exercise them.

#### What is the lawsuit about?

The lawsuit alleges that certain Toyota, Lexus, and Scion vehicles equipped with ETCS are defective and can experience unintended acceleration. Toyota denies that it has violated any law, denies that it engaged in any and all wrongdoing, and denies that its ETCS is defective. The Court did not decide which side was right. Instead, the parties decided to settle.

#### Am I Included in the proposed settlement?

Subject to certain limited exclusions, you are included if as of **December 28, 2012**,

- You own or owned, purchase(d), and/or lease(d) a "Subject Vehicle" that was
- Distributed for sale or lease in any of the fifty States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and all other United States territories and/or possessions or
- Were a company that insured Subject Vehicles for residual value.

The Subject Vehicles are identified at the settlement website and in the full settlement notice available on the website or through the toll-free number below. The class includes persons, entities and/or organizations.

This settlement does not involve claims of personal injury or property damage.

#### What does the settlement provide?

The proposed settlement provides for: (a) cash payments from two funds totaling \$500 million for certain eligible class members; (b) free installation of a brake override system on certain Subject Vehicles; (c) a customer support program to correct any defect in materials or workmanship of certain vehicle parts for other eligible class members; and (d) at least \$30 million toward automobile safety research and education. Some of these benefits require action by class members by or before certain deadlines.

Payments will vary depending upon several factors such as the number of claims submitted, the amounts claimed, and other adjustments and deductions.

#### What are my options?

*If you do nothing*, you will remain in the class and will not be able to sue Toyota about the issues in the lawsuit, but you may not receive certain cash benefits for which you may be eligible.

*You can exclude yourself* by **May 13, 2013**, if you don't want to be part of the settlement. You won't get any settlement benefits, but you keep the right to sue Toyota about the issues in the lawsuit.

*You can submit a claim form* by **July 29, 2013**, if you don't exclude yourself, for any cash benefits for which you are eligible and which require a claim form.

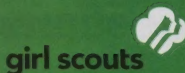
*You can object to all or part of the settlement* by **May 13, 2013**, if you don't exclude yourself.

**The full settlement notice describes how to exclude yourself, submit a claim form and/or object.**

The Court will hold a fairness hearing on **June 14, 2013 at 9:00 a.m.** to (a) consider whether the proposed settlement is fair, reasonable, and adequate and (b) decide the plaintiffs' lawyers' request for fees up to \$200 million and expenses up to \$27 million and other awards for Named Plaintiffs and Class Representatives. You may appear at the hearing, but you are not required to and you may hire an attorney to appear for you, at your own expense.

For more information or a claim form:

1-877-283-0507 [www.toyotaelsettlement.com](http://www.toyotaelsettlement.com)



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# 10 Questions

Stoppard wrote the screenplay for *Anna Karenina*—and some of *Indiana Jones* and *The Last Crusade*



## Oscar- and Tony-winning writer **Tom Stoppard** on absent fathers, his romantic side and his one novel

**You're known for rewriting famous works, like the recent film version of *Anna Karenina* and *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern Are Dead*, a reworking of *Hamlet*. What made you take on the TV adaptation of *Parade's End*, which is not well known?**

It wasn't known to me. I'd never read it, but I began to love it very quickly, and somehow it has dominated my writing life for four years. It's just a damn good book. Difficult to adapt. And the fact that it asks questions of the reader—and of itself—that have no easy answers is central to its appeal.

**Have you been surprised by the affection people have for *Downton Abbey*, which is set in the same era?**

No, I feel very affectionate toward it myself. I mean, I can be affectionate about a lot of things without watching them. It may have influenced HBO. But *Downton Abbey* didn't exist in any form when I started writing *Parade's End*.

**Did the story speak to you because all the fathers are absent and you lost your father so young, after the Japanese invaded Singapore?**

Quite honestly, it never crossed my mind. I'm not that taken with Freudian perspectives. They seem to be overcomplicated. You may have put your finger on something, but to speak honestly, I just don't care. I've loved reading since I could read.

**In *Shakespeare in Love*, you more or less changed the fate of the star-crossed lovers. Are you a sucker for a happy ending?**

Some people working on the film couldn't get their heads around Shakespeare having a wife safely at home in Stratford and therefore not being able to have a romantic-comedy ending. And of course it's not a happy ending. It's a *Casablanca* ending.

**Are you more romantic than people give you credit for?**

*Shakespeare in Love* worked because [director] John Madden looked after the romance. I'm good at being funny. But I think film has to be successful on an emotional level, not just as a series of laughs. I believe in romance. I'm not sure I would have said this when I was starting off.

**A love of books washes through your work. Yet you didn't like school, didn't go to college. Was it the English education system?**

Look, I have a very nice older brother, Peter. We were born in the same place,

Czechoslovakia, and we went to Singapore. We were there for Pearl Harbor. We lost our father. We got on this boat with our mother. We got bombed at sea. We ended up in India. My mother married a British army officer whose name was Stoppard, and we were brought to England and turned into English schoolboys. We had the same experiences. Peter is a success-

ful, happy accountant. I can't claim a special kind of influence from my sociological context, because I'm not an accountant and he's not a writer.

**You have a history of activism in Russian issues. Are you concerned about what's happening in Russia at the moment?**

I keep in touch with a few people on certain things. [The death in prison of auditor and whistle-blower] Sergei Magnitsky was a very shocking case, one example of how things can be in the Russian Federation. I'm also interested in Belarus, which is not very nice to maverick artists, some of whom are trying to operate in exile from England. In some cases they're friends of mine, so yes, I'm still taking an interest.

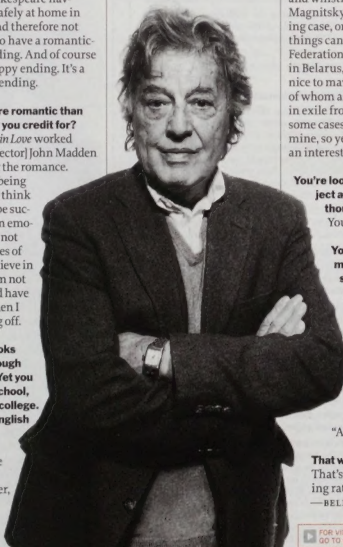
**You're looking for a play subject at the moment. Ever thought about Yorick?**  
You can have Yorick.

**You've written many plays and screenplays but just one novel, *Lord Malquist & Mr. Moon*. Why is that?**

A publisher many years ago asked if I'd like to write a novel for £50. And I said, "Absolutely."

**That was your rate, £50?**  
That's still my going rate for novels.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



FOR VIDEO OF THIS INTERVIEW, GO TO [time.com/10questions](http://time.com/10questions)



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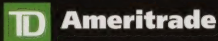
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